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ART. I.—SUCCESSION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND  
EXAMINED.

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1. THE claims of the Church of England to an apostolical and uninterrupted succession from the apostles have been reiterated and pressed with considerable confidence during this and the last century. She not only makes these high pretensions in behalf of herself; but, what is stranger, excludes from the character of true churches all the reformed that have not an episcopal form of government, or *such* an episcopacy as she thinks must be derived from the apostles. As these pretensions go so far, and unchurch a great part of the Protestant world; it is worth while to give them a careful examination. It is true she does not consign them all to perdition, any more than she does Heathens, Jews, or Mohammedans; yet their proper character, as churches of Christ, is denied.

Notwithstanding all these high and extensive claims of the Anglican church, it may perhaps be shown that her glorying is too much after the manner of Rome, without the same grounds, in many respects, that Rome hath for her boasting.

2. Twenty years ago, when the writer of this article emigrated to the United States, he supposed this talismanic succession was confined to Britain and Ireland, and that it could find no place among Americans as he imagined they did not believe that parliaments, by divine right, had *sovereign authority in all matters as well ecclesiastical as civil*, and could at pleasure *alter their religion*; or that kings could be *supreme head of the church under Christ*, and so could *appoint, suspend, or depose* bishops; or that convocations or ecclesiastical bodies had no power to convene, deliberate, prorogue, or make canons, unless a king gave them leave, though this permission should be withheld one hundred years or more, as has been the case with the English convocation. Previously to the time alluded to above, the writer, though a member of the Established Church, into whose ministry he had an opportunity of entering, chose, in preference, to exercise the Christian ministry as a Wesleyan Methodist preacher. And this he did because he became convinced it was more consonant with Scripture, and the character

of the apostolic ministry, than that in which he had been instructed, and was found in the bishops, priests, and deacons of the Irish Establishment. And all he has read, seen, and thought on this subject until now has confirmed him in the correctness of his choice.

3. In his native country he was convinced, on proper examination, that this boasted succession, alike claimed by Romanists and Churchmen, was a fable; and he really supposed for several years that the invention was to remain on the other side of the Atlantic, and there, in time, undergo the fate of kindred monarchical, popish, feudal, and legendary customs and doctrines. Some intimations however of its cisatlantic existence came within his notice about fourteen years ago. Shortly after, he found that Rev. N. Bangs had, in a very modest and kind manner, written an excellent little book on this subject, under the name of "*A Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy*," which he supposed would teach the successionists that there was something in Christ's religion more important than this lineal descent which no man can trace, and when found, in their way of finding an irrecoverable thing, it was not worth the search. But the men would not receive instruction. They would not learn, though they could not teach the very thing on which they so much insisted. Indeed their claims became even more bold, and were pressed with more confidence. Argument, and Scripture, and antiquity, they could not soberly call to their assistance; but the lack of these was made up by dogmatism, and a constant persistence in their claims. They seemed to think that Methodist preachers, who were engaged in the *great work* of reforming the people, and could not *come down* to them, had really conceded to the successors of the nonjuring Seabury, that there was nothing valid in the Methodist ministry, though it was the instrument of salvation to thousands. This led the author of this article to examine the whole ground over again, which he did by committing his thoughts to writing in this and a number of essays on the different branches of the succession. When he finished them he really thought it would be useless, and therefore foolish, to trouble the public with any thing respecting this popish and monarchical succession; as the whole appeared to him entirely fabulous, and therefore needed no serious rebuke. Accordingly, his essays have been laid past for nine years, and consigned to the moles and bats.

During the last few years, however, the successionists have been inspired with new life and activity. Ever since the American prelates commenced visiting Britain, they seem to have caught a good portion of the style and manner of, *His Grace and Most Reverend Father in God by divine providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of all England*; *His Grace and Most Reverend Father in God by divine providence, Archbishop of York, Primate and Metropolitan of England*; the *Bishops, Lords, Lords Spiritual, Right Reverend Fathers in God by divine permission, &c. &c.* And though our American bishops, in consequence of having obtained an invalid ordination from the British parliament, through the king as supreme head, and the archbishops of Canterbury and York as the creatures of the king and parliament, were not permitted to preach or pray in any church, yet they carried home with them, as was natural, a new and complete edition of the succession, as if they were deter-



mined to establish in America what they could not have part or lot of in Britain. Hence, to make the thing certain, two very handsome volumes on the succession have been published by the Protestant Episcopal Press. They are made up of Dr. Bowden's work, which was begun, continued, and finished in an angry and supercilious mood, though, it is said, he spent twenty years in its composition; of Mr. Cook's "*Book of Scraps*," collected from every quarter, and thrown together without judgment, study, or order; and of Bishop Onderdonk's "*Episcopacy Tested by Scripture*," written in a courteous style and manner, and the subject treated with a becoming dignity, and therefore deserving of respect and consideration. The "*New-York Churchman*" too bestows more attention to the succession than any other topic whatever.

5. These and other considerations have induced the writer of this article to give a new edition of his "*Essays on the Succession*," draw them from oblivion, and present some of them to the public. And as proofs and arguments will be called for as well as mere narrative, he will now proceed to give these, so as to prove what has been barely asserted in these prefatory remarks. The subject is the succession of the English Church, from which Mr. Wesley and the Methodist Episcopal Church are said causelessly to have dissented, and are therefore pronounced guilty of schism; and that before the Protestant Episcopal Church had an existence, either in name or reality; though the Methodists are also accused of having been guilty of schism in the latter church before she had any being! We will range our remarks on this subject under the following heads:—

#### I. ORIGIN, FORMATION, AND CONSTITUTION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

1. In the time of the apostles, the church was governed by the presbyters, under the immediate direction of the apostles themselves, and that of their assistants, Timothy, Titus, &c. In the age succeeding the apostles, the church was governed by the body of presbyters, who selected persons to preside, whom they denominated *bishops* or *overseers*, but of the same order with themselves, and accountable to them for the proper discharge of their duty. They were not distinguished from their brethren as a distinct order of clergy, but as possessing *jurisdiction* or *superintendency* among their equals. They were *primi inter pares*, *first among their equals*. In the third and fourth centuries, the bishops obtained the principal rule, and stripped the body of elders and people of a great portion of their proper powers and privileges. When kings and emperors became Christians, they exercised supreme power in the church, and in some degree interfered with the privileges of the bishops; but the scriptural powers of the pastors and people were almost entirely destroyed as it regarded the government of the church. To the regal government, which flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries, the papal usurpation succeeded; and came in direct conflict with the regal and prelatical systems, but it entirely destroyed the presbyterial or pastoral authority, as well as the rights of the people, as to church government. Here are successive forms of church government, viz. 1. *The apostolical*. 2. *The presbyterial* or *pas-*

*toral*, with bishops having jurisdiction, but presbyters as to order. This form may properly be called *episcopal*, taking the word in the scriptural sense. 3. *The prelatical*, or diocesan episcopacy. 4. *The regal*. 5. *The papal*. In the English Church, the regal form of government prevails; the prelatical is conspicuous, but as the creature of the state or parliament, and under the control of the king. In it some leading elements of Popery remain; and the primitive pastoral, presbyterial, or episcopal form is lost, so that the scriptural and inherent rights of the pastors or people are prostrate. It may be called the *Anglican* form of church government; as it cannot be well identified with the apostolical, presbyterial, prelatical, regal, or papal; though the regal prevails, and perhaps it may be called indifferently, *regal or Anglican*.

The *act of supremacy* laid the foundation of the English Church, connected as it is with the *submission* of the clergy in the reign of Henry VIII, and brought about by the famous statute of *premunire*. The word is synonymous with *premoneri*, *to be admonished*, and in English law, is the name of a *writ* or the *offence* whereon the writ is granted. It is named from the words of the writ, preparatory to the prosecution thereof. "*Premunire facias, A. B.*" &c. "*Cause A. B. to be forewarned—that he appear before us to answer the contempt wherewith he stands charged.*" It took its origin from the exorbitant power claimed and exercised in England by the pope; and was originally ranked as an offence immediately against the king; because it consisted in introducing a foreign power and creating *imperium in imperio*, by paying that obedience to papal process, which according to the English constitution, belonged to the king alone, long before the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII. Some remarks on the state of the English Church previous to the Reformation will be necessary in order to trace out the sources of its present organization.

2. Religious principles, when genuine and pure, have a direct tendency to make their professors better citizens, as well as better men; but when they are perverted and erroneous, they are subversive of civil government, and are made the cloak and instrument of every pernicious design. The unbounded authority that was exercised by the Druids in the west of Europe, and the terrible ravages committed by the Saracens in the east, to propagate the religion of Mohammed, testify that in all countries, civil and ecclesiastical tyranny are mutually productive of each other. Religious bigotry, when actuated by erroneous principles, even of the Protestant kind, is productive of great mischief, though its plea may be for equality and freedom. This is evident from the history of the Anabaptists of Germany, the Covenanters of Scotland, and the deluge of sects in England who murdered their king, changed the government of the church, prostrated all law, and established a kingdom of saints. But these are as far from being true Protestants as true Christians. But the effect of this anarchy in religion, is only short, though violent and tumultuous. The progress, however, of papal policy is slow, though, in the end, tremendously destructive. The power of the pope had made rapid strides in England, before the time of Henry VIII.; but by the vigor of the free institutions of Britain, it was entirely overturned.

The ancient British Church, by whomsoever planted, was a stranger to the bishop of Rome, and all his pretended authority. But the pagan Saxon invaders, having driven the professors of Christianity to the remotest corner of the island, their own conversion was afterward effected by Augustine and other missionaries from the Church of Rome. This naturally introduced some of the papal corruptions, in point of doctrine, but there was no civil authority claimed by the pope till the time of the Norman conquest in A. D. 1066. At this time the reigning pontiff having favored William the Conqueror in his projected invasion, by blessing his army and consecrating his banners, took that opportunity also of establishing his spiritual encroachments; and was even permitted to do so by the policy of the Conqueror, in order to humble the Saxon clergy and aggrandize his Norman prelates.

More effectually to enslave the consciences and minds of the people, the Romish clergy themselves paid the most implicit obedience to their superiors or prelates; and these in their turn were devoted to the will of the pope, whose decision they held to be infallible, and his authority coextensive with the Christian world. Hence his legates *a latere* were introduced into every kingdom of Europe, his bulls and decretals became the rule both of faith and discipline; his judgment was the final resort in all cases of doubt and difficulty; his decrees were enforced by anathemas and spiritual censures; he dethroned even kings that were refractory, and denied to whole kingdoms, when undutiful to him, the exercise of Christian ordinances, and the benefit of the gospel of God.

In order to sustain this spiritual authority, every method was resorted to that promised pecuniary advantage. The doctrine of purgatory was introduced, and with it the purchase of masses and indulgences. Crimes were punished by penances, and these were commuted for money. Non-residences and pluralities among the clergy, and divorces among the laity were forbidden by the canons; but *dispensations* were seldom denied to those who could purchase them. The pope, too, took advantage of the feudal system then current in Europe. The pope became a feudal lord; and all ordinary patrons were to hold their right of patronage under this universal superior. The annual tenths were collected from the clergy; the oath of canonical obedience was derived from the feudal oath of fealty; and Peter-pence came in the place of the occasional aids levied by the prince on his vassals. The presentation to vacant benefices, as well as the avails of vacant ones were claimed by the popes. Dispensations to provide for these vacancies, begat the doctrine of *commendams*; and papal *provisions* were the previous nomination to such benefices, by anticipation, before they became actually void. In consequence of this, Italians and other foreign clergy, the true vassals of the pope, were placed in the principal sees in England. The nomination to bishoprics, the ancient prerogative of the crown, was wrested from King Henry I. in 1100; and afterward from his successor John in 1199; and apparently conferred on the chapters belonging to each see; but by means of frequent appeals to Rome, through the intricacy of the laws which regulated canonical elections, was eventually vested in the pope. Another papal engine set on foot, was to grasp at the lands and



inheritances of the kingdom. To this end the Benedictine and other monks were introduced, by whose hypocrisy and deceit, indulgences and rapine, in about a century after the conquest, innumerable abbeys and religious houses were built and endowed, not only with the tithes of parishes, but also with lands, manors, lordships, and extensive baronies. And the doctrine inculcated was, that this ill-gotten property was consecrated to God himself, and to alienate it was sacrilege. This is only a partial outline of the extent of papal usurpations; but it is sufficient to answer the purpose in view. (See Blackstone's Com. b. iv, c. 8. pp. 104-110.)

The regal form of church government had made considerable progress in England before the power of the pope could be efficiently established; and it had become so established by law that it was finally made available in overturning papal usurpations. The kings of England, having claimed in ancient times a power in ecclesiastical matters equal to what the Roman emperors had in their empire, exercised this authority over the clergy and laity. They erected bishoprics, granted investitures in them, called synods, made laws, and, in a word, governed their whole kingdom as well in ecclesiastical as in civil matters. And when the bishops of Rome obtained supreme power in the English Church, they gave investitures, received appeals, sent legates to England, and did several other things of a like nature. The kings of England long contested these invasions, as they deemed them, of their ancient rights. But in consequence of the weakness of some princes, the superstition and treachery of others, &c., the popes at length succeeded to some degree in establishing their authority. In the first contests between the king and the popes, the clergy were generally on the pope's side. But when the popes became warlike princes, and made heavy demands on the clergy, by palls, expensive bulls, annates, tenths, as standing taxes, beside many new ones on emergent occasions; the clergy fled back to the crown for protection, which their predecessors had abandoned. Several penal laws were made against this enormous power; yet there was not sufficient fortitude to stop its progress: so that the pope's interest still advanced.

3. The famous act of *premunire*, by which the supremacy of the pope was transferred to the king of England, prepared the way for, and indeed was the principal means of, organizing the English Protestant Church. The import of the name *premunire*, and its application, have been already explained. We will now trace those steps by which the English Church was transferred from the popish to the regal form of church government.

From the days of Edward I., who commenced his reign in 1272, many statutes were made to restrain the exactions of Rome. In the 35th year of this king's reign, or in the year 1307, the first statute against papal provisions was made, and is reckoned the foundation of all the future statutes of *premunire*, which was an offence immediately against the king, because every increase of the papal power was deemed a diminution of the authority of the crown. The statute recites, (35 Ed. I. st. i.)—"That the abbots, friars, and governors had, at their own pleasure, set divers impositions upon the monasteries and houses in their subjection; to remedy which it was enacted, that, in future, religious persons should send nothing

to their superiors beyond the sea ; and that no imposition whatever should be taxed by friars to aliens." By statute (25 Ed. III., st. 5, c. 22,) in the year 1352, it was enacted—"that the court of Rome should not present or collate to any bishopric or living in England ; and that whosoever disturbed any patron in the presentation to a living, by virtue of a papal provision, such person should pay fine and ransom to the king, at his will ; and be imprisoned till he renounced such provision. The same punishment was inflicted on such as should cite the king or any of his subjects to answer in the court of Rome." Several other statutes, to the same amount, were made during this king's reign ; nevertheless, the pope found means to counteract their operation, so that the statutes were not of much present practical use. (See Burnet, b. ii. vol. i, p. 142.)

In the reign of Richard II., who ascended the throne in 1377, "it was found necessary," says Blackstone, (b. iv, c. 8, p, 112) "to sharpen and strengthen these laws, and therefore it was enacted by statutes, (3 Rich. II., c. 3 & 7 ; Rich. II. c. 12,) first, that no alien should be capable of letting his benefice to farm ; in order to compel such as had crept in, at least, to reside on their preferments : and that afterward no alien should be capable to be presented to any ecclesiastical preferment, under the penalty of the statutes of provisors. By the statute 12 Rich. II., c. 15, all liegemen of the king, accepting of a living by any foreign provision, are put out of the king's protection, and the benefice made void. To which the statute 13 Rich. II., st. 2, c. 2, adds banishment and forfeiture of lands and goods ; and by c. 3 of the same statute, any person bringing over any citation or excommunication from beyond sea, on account of the execution of the foregoing statutes of provisors, shall be imprisoned, forfeit his goods and lands, and moreover suffer pain of life and member."

But in the year 1393, the famous statute of premunire was passed in the sixteenth year of Richard II., c. 5, which is the statute generally referred to by all subsequent statutes, and is by way of eminence and distinction called *the statute of premunire*. Complaint had been made to parliament "that the crown of England, which had been so free at all times, should be subjected to the bishop of Rome, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated and destroyed at his will. They also found those things to be against the king's crown and regality, used and approved in the time of his progenitors." Whereupon it was ordained by the parliament,— "That if any did purchase translations, sentences of excommunications, bulls, or other instruments from the court of Rome, against the king or his crown, or whosoever brought them to England, or did receive or execute them ; they were out of the king's protection, and that they should forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and their persons should be imprisoned." (Burnet, b. ii, vol. i, p. 143.)

By statute 2 Henry IV., c. iii, and in the year 1401, it was enacted that all persons who accept any provision from the pope, to be exempt from canonical obedience to their proper ordinary, were also subject to the penalties of a *premunire*. This is said to be the last ancient statute concerning this offence till the Reformation. Several other statutes were passed in the parliament between

the passage of the famous *premunire* act, and the reign of Henry VIII. ; but the struggle for the mastery between the popes continued with doubtful or alternate victories till the reign of this monarch.

The statutes of *premunire* were extended to various ecclesiastical offences in the reigns of Elizabeth and her father ; such as the appointment of bishops refusing to take the oath of supremacy, carrying crosses and such things to be blessed by the pope, aiding Jesuits, and the like. (See Burnet's Hist. Ref. b. ii, vol. i, p. 140, &c. Blackstone's Com. b. iv, c. viii, p. 103-118. Jacob's Law Dict. on *premunire*.) The original meaning of the offence called *premunire* was introducing a foreign power into England, and creating *imperium in imperio*, by paying that obedience to the pope which constitutionally belonged to the king, long before the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII. The penalty for this offence of *premunire* was according to Coke,—“That from the conviction, the defendant shall be out of the king's protection, and his lands and tenements, goods and chattels forfeited to the king, or that his body shall remain in prison at the king's pleasure.” 1 Inst. 129.

4. While the debates and proceedings respecting the divorce from Queen Catharine by Henry VIII. were pending, all appeals to Rome were cut off, by act of parliament in consequence of the evasions of the pope and his advisers. An act was passed in 1533, (24 Hen. VIII., act xxii,) against appeals to the pope, which widened the breach between the pope and Henry. The preamble declares,—“That the crown of England was imperial, and that the nation was a complete body within itself, with a full power to give justice in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal ; and that in the spirituality, as there had been at all times, so there were then, men of that sufficiency and integrity, that they might declare and determine all doubts within the kingdom ; and that several kings, as Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., had by several laws preserved the liberties of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, from the annoyance of the see of Rome, and other foreign potentates ; therefore it was enacted that all such cases, whether relating to the king or any of his subjects, were to be determined within the kingdom, in the several courts to which they belonged, notwithstanding any appeals to Rome, or inhibitions and bulls to Rome ; whose sentences should take effect, and be fully executed by all inferior ministers : and if any spiritual persons refused to execute them because of censures from Rome, they were declared liable to the pains in the statute of provisions in the sixteenth of Richard II. But that appeals should only be from the archdeacon, or his official, to the bishop of the diocese, or his commissary, and from him to the archbishop of the province, or the dean of the arches ; where the final determination was to be made without any farther process ; and in every process concerning the king, or his heirs and successors, an appeal should lie to the upper house of convocation, where it should be finally determined never to be again called in question.” (Burnet Hist. Ref. b. ii, vol. i, p. 167.)

It may be proper to mention here what occurred in the year 1531. Cardinal Wolsey, two years previous to this time, by exercising his legantine powers, fell into a *premunire*, by which his property was forfeited to the king. In this year, those who had appeared in his



courts, and had suits there, were also found in the same guilt by the law; and they were excepted out of the pardon that was granted under the former parliament. Therefore an indictment was brought into the king's bench against all the clergy of England, for breaking the statutes against provisions and provisors. By this their goods and chattels were forfeited to the king, and their persons liable to arrest and confinement during the king's pleasure. The convocations of York and Canterbury took the subject into consideration; they demanded a considerable sum of money, in lieu of the forfeiture of their goods, or that they should acknowledge the king as *protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England*, and reject the pope's supremacy in England. The last met with some opposition from both the convocations; but they finally agreed to give the subsidy, and acknowledge the ecclesiastical headship of the king. The convocation of Canterbury prayed the king to accept of the sum of 100,000*l.* in lieu of all punishments which they had incurred by going against the statutes of provisors, and did promise for the future, neither to make nor execute any constitution without the king's *license*; upon which he granted them a general pardon. The convocation of the province of York offered 18,840*l.*, with another submission of the same nature, and were also pardoned. This prepared the way for the passage of the act mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Thus the king pardoned the clergy on their submission; and they acknowledged him protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England. They rejected the supremacy of the pope, but substituted for its place that of the king. (Burnet Hist. Ref. b. ii. vol. 1, p. 140, 149.)

Let any one compare the bishops' oath of supremacy to the pope and that taken by the bishops to Henry in 1532, and he will perceive that the bishops only changed their masters, without much change in their principles. Our limits do not allow us to enlarge. We refer our readers for both the oaths to Burnet (b. ii. vol. 1, p. 163.)

It may be proper to state here that, in the end of January 1533, King Henry sent to the pope for the bulls for Cranmer's promotion; and though the statutes were passed against procuring more bulls from Rome, yet the king resolved not to begin the breach till he was forced to it by the pope. His holiness was not hearty in this promotion; yet, to prevent a rupture with England, he consented, and the bulls were expedited, though, instead of annates, there were only 900 ducats paid for them. They were the last bulls that were received in this king's reign. By one bull Cranmer is, upon the king's nomination, promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury, and it is directed to the king. By a second, directed to himself, he is made archbishop. By a third, he is absolved from all censures. A fourth, is to the suffragans. A fifth, to the dean and chapters. A sixth, to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh, to all the laity in the see. An eighth, to all that held lands of it, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. All these bear date 21st Feb. 1533. By a ninth bull of Feb. 22d, he was appointed to be consecrated, and to take the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth bull, of March 2d, the pall was sent him.

And by an eleventh, of the same date, the archbishop of York and the bishop of London were required to put it on him. Such were the several artifices employed to enrich the apostolic chamber. When the bulls were brought to London, Cranmer was consecrated on the 30th of March, 1533. He scrupled to take the oath of obedience to the pope; but, after being permitted to make a protestation respecting his sense of it, he took the oath and was consecrated. "By which," says Bishop Burnet, "if he did not wholly save his integrity, yet it was plain he intended no cheat, but to act fairly and aboveboard." Such were the sentiments of the times, that the grossest inconsistencies seem to have been practised without much examination or disgust.

In March, 1534, an act was passed by parliament which, among other things, declares and enacts,—“That the intolerable exactions for Peter-pence, provisions, pensions, and bulls, were contrary to the laws, and grounded only on the pope’s power of dispensing, which was usurped. But the king and the lords and commons only had power to dispense or abrogate laws. That the two archbishops might grant no licenses for new things till they were first examined by the king and his council.” In short, Henry VIII. modelled the church as he thought fit; and it was well he had such a counsellor as Cranmer. The Church of England was rescued from the grosser popery by this wicked man; but much of its spirit and practice remained. (See Burnet, b. ii, vol. 1, p. 191.)

5. But the act of supremacy which passed in the year 1535, and the 26th of Henry VIII., laid the foundation on which the peculiar polity of the Church of England was built. The various acts of premunire prepared the way; but this act cast the mould into which the church was formed, by establishing fully the supremacy of the British monarch, in making him the supreme head of the church, and in robbing the clergy of almost all part or lot in ecclesiastical matters, except as they may act as counselors, delegates, or creatures of the crown or parliament. The substance of this act, as quoted by Neal in his History of the Puritans, is as follows. “Albeit the king’s majesty justly and rightly is and ought to be supreme head of the Church of England, and is so recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocations; yet, nevertheless, for confirmation and corroboration thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ’s religion in this realm of England &c.; be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed *the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England*; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well as the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, immunities, profits, and commodities, to the said dignity of supreme head of the church belonging and appertaining; and that our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority to visit, repress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatever they be, which, by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may be lawfully reformed, repressed, ordered, corrected, restrained or amended, most to the pleasure of almighty

God, and increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm ; any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding." (Neal's Hist. Pur. vol. i, p. ii, Bath, 1793.) The substance of what is contained in this act was already acknowledged by the clergy ; but this act gives it a regular form. Bishop Burnet expresses the most material parts of the act of supremacy in the following words:—"That the king was the supreme head on earth of the Church of England, which was to be annexed to his other titles ; it was also enacted that the king and his heirs and successors should have power to visit and reform all heresies, and other abuses which in the spiritual jurisdiction ought to be reformed." (Burnet, b. ii, vol. 1, p. 207.) Here was the rise of the reformation of the English Church. The whole power of reforming, repressing, punishing heresies and errors, in doctrine and worship, and indeed in every thing that referred to religion, was transferred to the king from the pope, without any regard to the rights of councils or synods of the clergy, or the rights, privileges, or creed of the people. It is more than useless to say the power was a *civil one* ; when the act expressly says, it was such as *any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may do*. It is therefore mere trifling for successionists to assert that the power exercised by the king is civil, when, in its exercise, he can regulate the concerns of the church to any extent to which any ecclesiastical power can or ever did exercise ; and that, too, in *opposition* to the views and decisions of all the ecclesiastical power which the English clergy can use, whether as convocations, bishops, clergy, or people. It is true, the change after all was for the better, but by no means such a one a Scripture or reason would justify, whatever successionists may say to the contrary. Indeed, when arguing in favor of this scheme, they studiously avoid to follow the line of succession. And he that attempts to follow it, will be bewildered in the abominations and heresies of popes, and kings, and prelates, who have *usurped*, not only the lawful authority of the pastors and sheep of Christ's flock ; but they have invaded the headship of Jesus Christ himself, who in time will dethrone them, and deliver his flock and pastors out of their hands. But we have not yet scarcely touched the heresies and schisms of the system ; we will therefore proceed in our undertaking. Indeed we will need to argue very little on this subject, as the reader, from the facts which we will adduce, will see at once that the succession originated in pride and usurpation, was continued by tyranny and corruption, and will perish in proportion as knowledge and pure religion shall prevail on our earth.

† By another statute, (32 Henry VIII., c. xxvi,) passed in 1541, it was enacted, "That all decrees and ordinances which shall be made and ordained by the archbishops, bishops, and doctors, and shall be published with the king's advice and confirmation, by his letters patent, in and upon the matters of Christian faith, and lawful rites and ceremonies, *shall be in every point thereof believed, obeyed, and performed to all intents and purposes, upon the pains therein comprised* ; provided nothing be ordained contrary to the laws of the realm." (Neal, vol. 1, p. 33, 34.) By this act the king was invested



with the infallibility of the pope ; and had the consciences and faith of his people at his absolute disposal. Observe, too, that he was under no control from the people and clergy ; and no other ecclesiastical person or persons could do any thing in reference to the faith and government of the church without the king's consent.

The pope, at this period of the Church of England, is discharged from all jurisdiction and authority in the church ; but a like authority is vested in the king. On this topic we will take the liberty to give a quotation from Neal, who wrote the history of the Puritans ; and though he may in some things have leaned too far to the opposite side from high Churchmen, his observations here will be in point. "His majesty's injunctions," says he, "are as binding as the pope's canons, and upon as severe penalties. He is absolute lord of the consciences of his subjects. No bishop or spiritual person may preach any doctrine but what he approves ; nor do any act of government but by his special commission. This seems to have been given his majesty by the act of supremacy ; and is farther confirmed by one of the last acts of his reign, (37 Hen. VIII, c. 17,) which declares, 'that archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical but by, from, and under his royal majesty ; and that his majesty is the only supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland, to whom, by holy Scripture, all authority and power is wholly given to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatever ; and to all such persons as his majesty shall appoint thereto.'" This was carrying the regal power to the utmost length. Here is no reserve of privilege for convocations, councils, or colleges of bishops ; the king may ask their advice, or call them in to his aid and assistance, but his majesty has not only a negative voice upon all their proceedings, but may himself, by his letters patent, publish injunctions in matters of religion, for correcting all errors in doctrine and worship—his proclamations have the force of a law, and all his subjects are obliged to believe, obey, and profess according to them, under the highest penalties." (Neal's Hist. Pur. vol. i, p. 37.)

6. The oath of supremacy, as it was made when the bishops did homage in the time of King Henry VIII, which is on record, and is among Mr. Rymer's manuscripts, will give us additional light into the submission of the clergy, and the supremacy of the king. We give it as it is found in Burnet's Collection of Records, in the ancient English orthography and style. That part of the oath is given which refers to the supremacy, as this only is necessary to our present discussion. "And also I acknowledge and recognize your majestie ymmediately under almighty God, to be the chief and supreme hede of the Church of England, and clayme to have the Bishopricke of — alanlye of your gift : and to have and to hold the profites temporal and spiritual of the same alanlye of your majestie, and of your heires, kings of this realme, and of none other : And in that sorte and none other, I shall take my restitution out of your handes accordinglye, utterly renouncing any other suit to be had herefere to any other creature liffying, or hereafter to be except your heires." (Hist. Ref. vol. iii, b. iv, col. v.) Here the

king is recognized to be chief and supreme head of the church immediately under God; the bishopric is the king's gift only; the spiritual and temporal parts are equally derived from and depend on him; and no other living creature has any right to interfere; and this prerogative belongs to every king and queen of England to the present time.

7. An act of parliament passed in the second year of the reign of Edward VI., concerning the admission of bishops to their sees, by the king's letters patent, and concerning the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the bishops' courts, gives us a clear view of the entire subjection of the clergy to the crown, as well as the enormous power of the king in spiritual matters. It is true, some changes have taken place as it regards the manner of appointment of bishops; still the same principle is preserved entire to this day; and no man ever did, ever will, or ever can, reconcile it to the New Testament or the organization of the church in the apostles' days, and the age that immediately succeeded. By this act it is set forth, "That the way of choosing bishops, by *congè d'élire*, (i. e., *permission to elect*,) was tedious and expenseful; and there was only the shadow of election in it; and that therefore bishops should be made thereafter by the king's letters patent, upon which they were to be consecrated: and whereas the bishops did exercise their authority and carry on processes in their own names, as they were wont to do in the time of popery; and since all jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, was derived from the king, that therefore their courts and all processes should be carried on in the king's name, and be sealed with the king's seal, as it was in the other courts of the common law, after the first of July next." (Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. i, p. 56.) There were some exceptions made in favor of the courts of the archbishop of Canterbury; but these referred only to dispensations and faculties, for in all other cases they were as much restrained as other bishops. It is said Archbishop Cranmer had a principal hand in this act; as it was his judgment, at that time, that the exercise of all episcopal jurisdiction depended on the prince; and as he gave it, he might restrain or take it away at his pleasure. Accordingly he took out a new commission from King Edward, when he came to the throne. It appears from the foregoing act that the king made the bishop; the other bishops had no hand in the matter but to go through a prescribed ceremony made by regal authority, and consecrate the man; which is the least part of making scriptural bishops. The bishop's spiritual power, too, was derived from the king, and exercised in his name. Even the shadow of election was dispensed with, and the king's patent put in its place. He that can receive all this for scriptural and apostolical, let him receive it. (Neal, vol. i, p. 45.)

An account of the manner of making bishops by letters patent in King Edward's time, will not be unacceptable. This is given from Burnet, and is as follows:—"The patents began with the mention of the vacancy of the see, by death or removal: upon which the king, being informed of the good qualifications of such a one, appoints him to be bishop, during his natural life, or so long as he shall behave himself well: giving him power to ordain and deprive ministers, to confer benefices, judge about wills, name

officials and commissaries, exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, visit the clergy, inflict censures, and punish scandalous persons, and to do all the other parts of the episcopal function that were found by the word of God to be committed to bishops; all which they were to execute and do in the king's name and authority. After that, in the same patent, follows the restitution of the temporalities. The day after a certificate, in a writ called a *significavit*, was to be made of this, under the great seal, to the archbishop, with a charge to consecrate him." (Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. i, p. 285.) This mode of appointing bishops was afterward abandoned in the reign of Elizabeth; and the mode of appointing by *congè d' élire* restored. In the foregoing account we find the king gives the bishop power to ordain and deprive ministers, &c. The bishop, too, is to exercise these powers in the king's name and authority. Therefore the principal part of episcopal ordination was invested in the crown. In commenting on this, Bishop Burnet says, "By these letters patent it is clear that the episcopal function was acknowledged to be of divine appointment, and that the person was no other way named by the king, than as lay patrons present to livings; only the bishop was legally authorized in such part of the king's dominions to execute that function which was to be derived to him by imposition of hands. Therefore here was no pretence for denying that such persons were true bishops, and for saying, as some have done, that they were not from Christ, but from the king." (Idem, p. 286.) It is to be acknowledged that the good bishop meets the objection as well as the nature of the case will admit of; but then the only weight that can be allowed to it is this—that the appointment of the king, and his authority in reference to the manner of constituting bishops, do not invalidate their divine appointment. If so, then to appoint and ordain bishops in a far less exceptionable manner, as is done in the Methodist Episcopal Church, cannot invalidate their divine appointment, on the supposition that bishops are a distinct order from presbyters, by divine right. The truth is, Bishop Burnet's observation is a very good *apology* for the unscriptural and *irregular* ordinations of the times concerning which he wrote, but it is no argument or proof in favour of the power of the English kings in ecclesiastical matters. Indeed most of the ordinations of those times were irregular, whether they were Popish or Protestant.

8. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, the power lost, or rather resigned by Queen Mary, was restored by act of parliament in the year 1559. It was entitled, *An act for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual; and for abolishing foreign power.* It is the same in substance with the 25th of Henry VIII. It revived those laws of Henry VIII., and Edward VI., which had been repealed in the late reign of Queen Mary. (Neal, vol. i, p. 118.) Burnet says that, by it, "all the acts passed in the reign of King Henry for the abolishing of the king's power are again revived; and the acts in Queen Mary's time to the contrary are repealed. There was also a repeal of the act made by her for proceeding against heretics. They declared the authority of visiting, correcting, and reforming all things in the church, to be for ever annexed to the crown, which the queen and her suc-



cessors might by letters patent depute to any persons to exercise in her name ; all bishops and other ecclesiastical persons, and all in any civil employment, were required to swear that they acknowledge the queen to be the supreme governor in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within her dominions ; that they renounced all foreign power and jurisdiction, and should bear the queen true allegiance : whosoever should refuse to swear it was to forfeit any office he had either in church or state, and to be from henceforth disabled to hold any employment during life : to this a promise was added, that such persons as should be commissioned by the queen to reform and order ecclesiastical matters should judge nothing to be heresy but what had been already so judged by the canonical scriptures, and by the first four general councils, or by any other general council in which doctrines were declared to be heresies by the express and plain words of Scripture ; all other points, not so decided, were to be judged by the parliament, with the assent of the clergy in their convocation." (Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. i, p. 491.) By this single act respecting the queen's supremacy, what had been done by Queen Mary was annulled, and the church placed in the same state of dependence on the queen and her successors that it was in to Edward VII., and Henry VIII. The only difference was, that the title of supreme head was left out of the oath ; though the powers embraced in it were comprised in other words. Another difference was, that there was no other punishment inflicted on those who denied the queen's supremacy but the loss of goods ; and such as refused to take the oath did only lose their livings ; whereas to refuse the oath in Henry's time brought them into a *premunire* ; and to deny the supremacy was treason.

Queen Elizabeth, by an act passed in 1559, entitled "An act for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments," was confirmed in the possession of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This statute lies open to view at the beginning of the most authentic editions of the Common Prayer Book. It is sufficient for our purpose to take notice of one clause, by which all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was again delivered up to the crown. "The queen is hereby empowered, with the advice of her commissioners or metropolitan, to ordain and publish such farther ceremonies and rites as may be for the advancement of God's glory, and edifying his church, and the reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments." (Neal, vol. i, pp. 130, 399.)

In a declaration of certain principal articles of religion, set out by order of both archbishops, metropolitans, and the rest of the bishops, for the unity of doctrine to be taught and holden by all parsons vicars, and curates, &c., in the reign of Elizabeth, the monarch's authority in matters of religion is thus defined in the 5th article, "Furthermore I do acknowledge the queen's majesty's prerogative, and superiority of government of all estates, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal within this realm, and other her majesty's dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort as in the late act of parliament expressed, and since then, by her majesty's injunctions declared and expounded." (Idem, vol. v, Appendix, p. iv ; Burnet, vol. ii, b. iii, p. 516, col. No. 11.) The queen in her

injunctions requires "all ecclesiastical persons to see that the act of supremacy be duly observed, and shall preach four times a year against yielding obedience to any foreign jurisdiction." (Neal, vol. i, p. 139.) She also explains the oath of supremacy, modifying it somewhat in its rigor; but we think that this explained view was but rarely adopted, and appears inconsistent with the supremacy of the crown. The queen declares that, by her supremacy, "she did not pretend to any authority for the ministering of divine service in the church, and that all that she challenged was that which had at all times belonged to the imperial crown of England, that she had the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons under God, so that no foreign power had any rule over them." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. iii, p. 507.) Any person may judge how far this is consistent with the exercise of the supremacy during this reign.

9. The power that was given to the queen to commission some to execute her supremacy, gave rise to that court which was commonly called the *high commission court*. It was designed to come in the place of a single person, to whom with the title of *lord vicegerent*, King Henry delegated his authority. The power was thought too much to be put into the hands of one man, and was therefore divided among several, some of whom were clergymen, and some laymen. After injunctions had been prepared by the queen, she gave out commissions for those who should visit all the churches in England, and correct whatever they thought amiss by *suspending* and *depriving* clergymen. We will quote some extracts from one of these commissions, given in the first year of Queen Elizabeth to the earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, and some others, among whom was Dr. Sands. The commission declares "that, God having set the queen over the nation, she could not render an account of that trust without endeavouring to propagate the true religion; with the right way of worshipping God in all her dominions; therefore she, in consequence of her royal and absolute power, committed to her in this her kingdom, hath determined to visit each estate of her kingdom, as well the ecclesiastical as civil, and to prescribe certain rules of piety and virtue to them, hath appointed, for the accomplishing of this work, these persons, (or any four, three, or at least two of them,) in her *place, name*, and by her *authority*, and have substituted them, to visit, as well in the head as in the members, cathedral churches, &c.: to inquire into the state of churches and places of this sort, into the life, manners, conversation, and qualities of persons living in churches and the places aforesaid, and into all these respects in which it can be the more efficaciously inquired into and investigated," &c. (Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. iii, col. No. 7.) They were also authorized "to suspend and deprive such clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others in their places; to proceed against any that were obstinate by imprisonment, church censure, or any other legal way." This was the first high commission that was given out. It was not a commission immediately warranted by act of parliament, but by virtue of the *queen's supremacy*. And although it was an enormous extent of power, we cannot view it in any other light than as the legitimate exercise of the supremacy.

This court exercised their powers with all freeness; which is described by Neal as follows: "It suspended and deprived men

of their livings, not by the verdict of twelve men upon oath, but by the sovereign determination of three commissioners of her majesty's own nomination, founded not on the *statute laws* of the realm but upon the bottomless deep of the *canon law*; and instead of producing witnesses in open court to prove the charge, they assumed a power of administering an oath *ex officio*, whereby the prisoner was obliged to answer all questions the church put to him, though never so prejudicial to his own defence: if he refused to swear, he was imprisoned for contempt; and if he took the oath, he was convicted on his own confession." (Hist. Pur. vol. i, pref. 7.) The Puritans felt the arbitrary proceedings of this court. They were forced to leave their pastoral charges, and undergo severe punishments for their conscientious adherence to what they believed true, and for what they deemed, and is now acknowledged to be the superstitious, and indeed in some respects, the idolatrous remains of popery.

This court so far exceeded all bounds by fining and imprisoning men for ecclesiastical offences, contrary to that which they were warranted by the statute law, that it was totally abolished in the reign of Charles I., in 1641; when it was enacted that all coercive power of church consistories should be taken away; and the spiritual sword that had done such terrible execution in the hands of some bishops, was put into its sheath. It was enacted that no new court should be erected that would have the same or equal power that the high commission court had; but, all such commissions, letters patent, &c., from the king and his successors, and all acts or decrees made by virtue thereof, should be void. (Idem, vol. ii, ch. ix, p. 445, where the act was quoted.) This seems to be a new era in the English church, and prepared the way for the moderation which afterward prevailed. But, according to Burnet's confession, there was a very small amount of sound religious principle, either among the clergy or laity, when the high commission court commenced its operations; and certainly its doings were not well adapted to promote the cause of true religion. (Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. iii, p. 510.)

## II. THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

As the parliament of Great Britain is the supreme power in England, in all matters both ecclesiastical and civil, it will be necessary to point out what powers it hath and exercises in the concerns of the English church.

1. The constituent parts of a parliament are, *the king* and the three estates of the realm; *the lords spiritual*, *the lords temporal*, (who sit together with the king in one house,) and the *commons*, who sit by themselves in another. Some however consider the three estates of the realm to be the *king*, *lords*, and *commons*; thus comprising the lords spiritual and the lords temporal under one name—the *lords*. The king and these three, or two estates together, form the great corporation or body politic of the British empire, of which the king is said to be *caput, principium, et finis*—the head, the origin, and the end.

2. The king is himself a part of parliament: he convenes the parliament by his writ. On their coming together he meets them



either in person or representation ; without which there could be no beginning of a parliament ; and he also has the power of dissolving them. The share of legislation which the constitution has placed in the king consists in the power of rejecting rather than resolving ; this being sufficient to answer the end proposed. For the royal negative consists in this, that the king has not any power of doing wrong, but merely of *preventing* wrong from being done. The king cannot of himself begin any alterations in the established law, but he may approve or disapprove of any alterations suggested by the two houses.

3. (1.) The house of lords is composed of lords spiritual and lords temporal. These last consist of all the peers of the realm, by whatever title of nobility they may be distinguished, as dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, or barons. Some of these sit by descent, as do all ancient peers ; some by creations as do all new-made ones. Others, since the union of Scotland and Ireland, by election ; which is the case with the sixteen peers who represent the body of the Scottish nobility, and the twenty-eight temporal lords elected for life by the peers of Ireland. The Scotch nobility sit one parliament only ; and the Irish for life. The number of lords is indefinite, and may be increased to any number by the king, who has the power of appointing as many as he thinks fit. The number of Irish peers is limited, so that it cannot exceed one hundred.

(2.) The lords spiritual consist of two archbishops and twenty-four bishops. On the union of Ireland in 1801, four lords spiritual were added, to sit by rotation of session, viz., one of the four archbishops, and three of the eighteen bishops. At the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII., twenty-six mitred abbots and two friars held seats in parliament ; though now the number of spiritual lords is thirty, the abbots and friars having no seats, or indeed no existence. All these hold or are supposed to hold certain ancient baronies under the king ; for William the Conqueror thought proper to change the spiritual tenure of *frankalmaln*, or *free alms*, under which the bishops held their lands during the Saxon government, into the *feudal* or *Norman* tenure by barony. This change subjected their estates to civil charges and assessments, from which they were before exempt. In right of *succession* to these baronies, which were inalienable from their respective dignities, the bishops, and abbots held their seats in the house of lords. Though the bishops are distinguished in most acts of parliament from the lords temporal, yet in practice they are blended together under the one name of *the lords* ; they intermix in their votes ; and the majority of such intermixture carries. The lords spiritual and temporal are now, in reality, in every effectual sense, only one estate, though the ancient distinction between them still nominally prevails. For if a bill should pass the house of lords there is no doubt of its validity, though every lord spiritual should vote against it ; on the other hand the bill would be valid were the majority composed of bishops only, and the minority of lords temporal.

4. *The commons*, according to its ordinary acceptation, consist of all such men of property of the kingdom, as have not seats in the house of lords. In its parliamentary sense, it means the *knights*, *citizens*, and *burgesses*, who are the representatives, in the house of commons, of the various counties, cities, and boroughs in the

kingdom. They are properly the representatives of the whole people, who do by them what is impracticable to be done by themselves in person. The counties are therefore represented by knights, elected by the proprietors of land; the cities and boroughs are represented by citizens and burgesses, chosen by the mercantile or trading part of the nation. The number of Scotch representatives is forty-five, of Irish one hundred, of English five hundred and thirteen, in all six hundred and fifty-eight.

These are the constituent parts of a parliament,—the king, lords spiritual and temporal, and commons; and the consent of these three is necessary to make any new law that shall bind the subject. Whatever is enacted by one, or by two only of the three, is no statute. And any one who maliciously or advisedly affirms that one or both houses have legislative powers, without the king, incurs all the penalties of a *premunire*. Besides, as it regards the religious character of the commons, they are composed of *Churchmen, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, dissenters, and infidels*; and they are also the representatives of persons who are in like manner divided into corresponding religious and irreligious divisions. Yet their enactments as a religious or ecclesiastical body, for such they properly are, respect only the Church of England. Let this be remembered. (See Blackstone's Com. b. i, c. ii, pp. 153–160; also Jacob's Law Dictionary, under *Parliament*; who are the authorities from which we quote.)

5. The powers of the parliament are thus described by Judge Blackstone, in his Commentaries: "The power and jurisdiction of parliament is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds. It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, *ecclesiastical* or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal: this being the place where that absolute despotic power, which must in all governments exist somewhere, is intrusted by the constitution of these kingdoms. All mischiefs and grievances, operations and remedies, that transcend the ordinary course of the laws, are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal. It can regulate or new model the succession to the crown; as was done in the reign of Henry VIII. and William III. It can alter the established religion of the land; as was done in a variety of instances, in the reigns of King Henry VIII., and his three children. It can change and create afresh even the constitution of the kingdom and of parliaments themselves; as was done by the act of union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections. It can, in short, do every thing that is not naturally impossible; and therefore some have not scrupled to call its power, by a figure rather too bold, the omnipotence of parliament. True it is, that what the parliament doth, no authority upon earth can undo." (Black. Com. b. i, c. ii, pp. 160, 161.) We have been thus particular in describing the powers and component parts of the British parliament, that we might be able to ascertain the claims of the English Church to her exclusive succession; as the parliament is the supreme ecclesiastical legislature to the church, in as full and ample a sense, as it is the supreme legislature to the state.

From the foregoing it appears that the parliament has *sovereign and uncontrollable, transcendent and absolute authority in all matters, as well ecclesiastical as civil*; and therefore sovereign authority extends as fully to the church as it does to the state. But as our business is with the church, we will call the attention of the reader to its ecclesiastical sovereignty. This is *as extensive and ample in the church as it is in the state*. The parliament therefore hath sovereign authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning all possible ecclesiastical matters. On the English Church, the parliament can act so as to change and create afresh its constitution. It can do in the church every thing that is not naturally impossible. In the church the power of the parliament is therefore *omnipotent*, and what it doth in the church *no power on earth can undo*, whether bishops, convocations, or any other person or persons, body or bodies of men! Accordingly, the parliament hath power, and hath exercised it more than once, and will probably exercise it again, *to alter the established religion of the land*.

The parliament then is the supreme ecclesiastical legislature of the Anglican Church, to which all other ecclesiastical bodies are accountable, as convocations, deans and chapters, bishops, &c., and from it through the king they derive their authority. The parliament therefore bears the same relation to the Church of England, that a general council and the pope at its head, together with the consent of the whole church, tacitly or expressly, bear to the Church of Rome. The parliament is to the church the same that the general assembly and presbyteries of the Scotch or American Presbyterian Church are to these churches respectively. Or the parliament hath the same authority in the church, as the general and annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church have to the whole of their church. Or the parliament has the same power in the church that the general and particular conventions have in the Protestant Episcopal Church. These ecclesiastical bodies can do no more than *alter the religion* of their churches, and the parliament can do the same, and that too in *all possible ecclesiastical matters*.

Observe too the religious character of the three parts of a parliament. The king is a Churchman; but he may cease to be such, as is proved from the changes already made, and which may again occur; notwithstanding the coronation oath and other guards. The lords spiritual are Churchmen; but then among the other lords, some are Roman Catholics, some dissenters, and probably infidels; and the house of commons is composed of Churchmen, Roman Catholics, dissenters, and even infidels. A large part therefore of the legislators of the Anglican Church is composed of persons of very different religious creeds from herself, and many of them possessed of the most determined hostility to her faith, worship, episcopacy, general order, and in short to almost every thing in which her interests and permanency are concerned. And what is still more strange, no purely ecclesiastical body in this church possesses any power to control or hinder in any degree any changes that may be made in her creed or discipline. The parliament can give as little or as much power to the convocation or clergy, as it pleases; so that without or contrary to the consent of the clergy, the church may be changed in



any manner possible, and that too by persons many of whom may be infidels, of opposite creeds from the church, as well as of immoral lives. But the parliament exercises their ecclesiastical powers to a considerable extent by the kings or queens of England, in confirming and extending the title of *defender of the faith*, which Henry VIII., received from the pope, and in making the reigning monarch *supreme head of the church under Christ*, and thus transferring the supremacy of the pope to the English crown, which will form the next topic of our discussion.

### III. ECCLESIASTICAL POWERS OF THE ENGLISH MONARCH.

1. The king of England is the *head* and *supreme governor* of the National Church. Judge Blackstone (Com. b. i, c. vii, p. 278,) says, "By statute 26 Henry VIII., c. i, reciting that the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England; and so had been recognised by the clergy of this kingdom in their convocation, it is enacted, that the king shall be reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and shall have annexed to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all jurisdictions, authorities, and commodities, to the said dignity of the supreme head of the church appertaining. And another statute to the same purport was made, 1 Eliz. c. i."

King Henry VIII. first shook off the yoke of Rome, and settled the supremacy in himself, after it had been long held by the pope. The acts of parliament, which suppressed the supremacy of Rome, are said by English jurists, to be acts of *restitution* of the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which, they contend, always belonged of right to the crown; and that the act of supremacy was not introductory of a new law but declaratory of the old, and that which was, by the fundamental laws of the realm, a part of the king's jurisdiction; by which laws, the king, as supreme head, had full and entire power in all cases ecclesiastical as well as temporal. And as in temporal causes, the king doth judge by his judges in the courts of justice, by the temporal laws of England; so, in ecclesiastical causes, they are to be determined by the judges thereof, according to the king's ecclesiastical laws. The kingdom too is considered as a complete empire, consisting of one head which is the king, and a body politic made up of the clergy and laity, both of them, immediately under God, subject and obedient to the head. There are several instances of ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by the kings of England in former ages. The king is the supreme ordinary, and by the ancient laws of the land might, without any act of parliament, make ordinances for the government of the clergy; and if there be a controversy between spiritual persons concerning jurisdiction, the king is arbitrator, and it is a right of his crown to declare their bounds. (See Jacob's Law Dictionary, under *Supremacy*.)

In the articles of religion published in the reign of Edward VI., the 36th article declares that, "The king of England is, after Christ, supreme head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland." In the articles published by the authority of Queen Elizabeth in 1562, which are the same now in use in the Book of Common

Prayer used in the Church of England, the 37th article, entitled, *of the civil magistrates*, give us the following view of the subject on hand:—

“The queen’s majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions; unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain; and is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the queen’s majesty the chief government, by which title we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God’s word, or of the sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in holy scriptures by God himself: that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.

The bishop of *Rome* hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons and serve in the wars.” (Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. ii, b. i, p. 219, col. No. 55, p. 262.)

Observe, the *right* by which the power is claimed is, that God himself gave the king this power according to Scripture; and that all godly princes had this right. The power conferred is declared to be *the chief power in all ecclesiastical causes*; that they should rule all ecclesiastical degrees; that this chief power and rule extend as extensively and fully to persons and things in the church, as to persons and things in the state; and that this may be enforced by the civil sword. Thus the English king has a *divine right*, according to this article, to the chief rule in ecclesiastical matters; and neither clergy nor people have any right or power to control him in the exercise of this enormous power.

Besides, the prerogative embraces the power of punishing with the *civil sword*, *stubborn* or *evil doers*. The Puritans, Nonconformists, and the different branches of dissenters, were esteemed both stubborn and evil doers, and as such were punished with the power of the sword.

However such are now *tolerated*; that is they are permitted to enjoy a *part* of their religious privileges,—I say a *part*, for though they are permitted to worship God as they judge best, they are compelled to support the ministry of the establishment. Indeed, the very idea of tolerance in religion is an assumption of the rights of others; as thereby a person presumes to *permit* another to do that which he has as good a right to do as he himself can possess.

The foregoing article confers on the reigning English king or queen *the divine right* of ecclesiastical sovereign or pope. Consequently this has been maintained with great earnestness by the English Church. In the reign of Charles I., in the year 1641, the

*divine right of kings to the supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical, is maintained in a canon in the constitution and canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, presidents of the convocation for their respective provinces, and the rest of the bishops and clergy of these provinces, and agreed upon, with the king's majesty's license, in their several synods begun in London and York 1641.*

"CANON I. CONCERNING THE REGAL POWER.

"We ordain and decree that every parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, upon one Sunday in every quarter of the year, in the place where he serves, shall read the following explanation of the regal power:—That the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded on the prime laws of nature and revelation by which the supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical is given to them. That they have the care of God's church, and the power of calling and dissolving councils, both national and provincial." (Neal, vol. i, p. 329.) Indeed this was nothing more than carrying out in consequence the doctrine contained in the 37th article quoted above, which is held to this day by all true Churchmen. It is true, this declaration of the convocation was not the immediate act of parliament at that time; but it shows abundantly what was the true doctrine of the article, and what were the views of Churchmen respecting the authority conferred by the act of supremacy. The right of the king, it is proper to remark, to exercise the authority of supreme ruler in ecclesiastical matters is said to be the ordinance of God himself, founded on the prime laws of nature and revelation. This ordinance bestows on the king the supreme power over all ecclesiastical persons, the care of the church, and the power of calling and dissolving ecclesiastical synods. And this supremacy, in the article, is declared to be such as was always exercised by pious kings, both Christian and Jewish. It would, it seems, be enough to state these unscriptural assumptions in order to confute them; but since our American successionists are introducing with great zeal these very doctrines, or such as involve them, we will, in a future page, devote some arguments to their confutation.

It will be proper for us to inquire what powers are vested in the king, what powers he actually exercises, how far these are guarded by the coronation oath, and how far authorized by Scripture and the example of Jewish and Christian kings.

2. The king is the *source of power* in the church as well as in the state.

The king is head of the church. This office was conferred on him by the parliament, is acknowledged by the clergy, and has been submitted to by every true Churchman. The power of the king is as extensive in ecclesiastical matters as it is in civil. And there is a sense in which the king is said to be the only executive magistrate in Britain. For from him, as the source of power, an extensive commission proceeds, giving birth to different offices of executive trust, as well as dignity and effect to all their proceedings. Under shelter of this commission, his ministers manage treaties, settle peace, and proclaim war. The navy, army, mint,



and courts of judicature are, likewise, all filled with their respective officers, who are to be considered as the king's proxies. The clergy, in like manner, when performing divine service, or occupying ecclesiastical courts, retain the same character in the church, which the other officers do in the state. They are administering, in their separate departments, what it is impossible for the king to administer in his own person; yet all holding their places directly or indirectly from the king. And as in temporal causes the king doth judge by his judges in the courts of justice, by the temporal laws of England; so, in ecclesiastical causes, the king officiates by his clergy, according to the king's ecclesiastical laws. (See Dyer on Subscription, p. 170.)

(2.) That the king is the fountain and source of ecclesiastical power appears farther from the act of supremacy. By this the king was vested with all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and the clergy, according to this act, have no manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction but by and under the king's majesty. Accordingly, at the Reformation, commissions were taken out by the bishops for the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction, and these commissions were to be held during the king's pleasure. (For these commissions see Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i, p. 345. Collection of Records, No. 14. Also vol. ii, p. 7, Collection No. 2, p. 107, where the Latin commissions taken by Bonner and Cranmer may be seen.) In these commissions, all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, is acknowledged to flow originally from the royal power of its supreme head, the fountain of all power within his own kingdom. Even the power of ordination is nothing but a grant, and was held only during the king's pleasure. And as all the different branches of the ministerial office are trusts derived from the king, all the power is revertible to him as its original source. He may instruct, and prescribe to the clergy; (Injunctions, Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth;) he may suspend them from office, and deprive them of it: he may even excommunicate from the bosom of the church, readmit excommunicated persons, independent of ecclesiastical courts, and even of the bishops and clergy. And what is still more remarkable, this extraordinary authority was held by delegation; one strange title which Lord Cromwell held, being that of lord vicerent in ecclesiastical matters. By virtue of this title, he had the principal management of ecclesiastical proceedings, and took place of the archbishop of Canterbury. But many of the most eminent Churchmen and lawyers have not done justice to this subject, when in their theories they have lowered the supremacy far below that which the letter, spirit, and practice of its doctrines would justify. Indeed, they have overlooked the foregoing considerations, from which it appears that all ecclesiastical power is vested in the king, by the parliament.

(3.) The same degree of power possessed by heathen kings has been claimed for the kings of England. Bishop Hooker, who is considered the standard writer on church government by Churchmen, asserts in his Ecclesiastical Polity that Christian kings have as much authority to regulate religious matters as heathen kings had. "That which, as kings (speaking of heathen kings) they might do in matters of religion, and did in matters of false religion,

being idolatrous and superstitious kings, the same they are now in every respect authorized to do in all affairs pertinent to the state of true religion." (*Eccl. Pol.*, vol. iii, p. 274.) It is not necessary to prove here that heathen kings were never authorized by the Almighty to establish their false religion. Nevertheless Churchmen, in order to maintain their ground, claim the same authority for the British kings in regulating the church of Christ, as heathen kings did in false religion. Indeed the regal form of church government, which commenced when kings and emperors became Christian, can claim no higher authority than the unscriptural example of heathen kings. Nevertheless the kings of England are, by the act of supremacy, vested with the enormous power which was exercised by the Roman emperors after the days of Julius Cesar, who laid the foundation of the Roman monarchy. They are not, indeed, consecrated unto all kinds of priesthood; but all kinds of priesthood are consecrated by their authority, and supply their place. The direction of sacrifices and ceremonies, which fell to the department of the priests; the authority of the tribunes, who, in the times of the commonwealth, acted for the people; and all the power of the ancient dictators; made up the character of the Roman emperor. Thus the kings of England oversee the ceremonies, which is the province of the priest; they choose to office, which is the right of the people; and they have the government of the whole, which, in the ecclesiastical style, is the proper office of the bishop. (See Dyer, p. 175.)

(4.) The king is the fountain of power in the church as well as in the state, notwithstanding the various qualifying expositions which the advocates of the regal form of government can adduce in lowering the ecclesiastical prerogative and supremacy of the king. They have been compelled by the glaring tyranny contained in the supremacy to lessen the degree of power attached thereto; but not in a manner consistent with Scripture or the primitive organization of the church of Christ.

It is true, indeed, that the kings and queens of England never pretended to belong to any order of the clergy, nor to exercise any part of the ecclesiastical functions in their own persons. They neither preached nor administered the sacraments; nor pronounced nor inflicted the censures of the church; nor did they ever consecrate to the episcopal office, though the right of appointment belongs to them. These things were done by clerical persons deriving their powers from the crown.

Hear what Bishop Hooker says on this point:—"It has been taken, as if we did hold that kings may prescribe what themselves think proper in the service of God, how the word may be taught, how the sacraments administered." And this they certainly did do. He adds, "That kings may do whatever is incident unto the office and duty of an ecclesiastical judge; which opinions we count absurd. (*Eccl. Pol.*, b. viii.) Nothing is more clear than that the English kings have done what pertains to the office and duty of ecclesiastical judges. Instances of this will be unnecessary here, as many have already been given, and no small number will appear in what follows.

Bishop Burnet takes every opportunity of qualifying the supremacy. Having previously spoken of the extent of the king's power

in the reign of Henry VIII., he makes the following observation by way of explanation; though it might be rather denominated an insufficient apology. "Thus it appears that they both limited obedience to the king's laws, with a due caution of their not being contrary to the law of God, and acknowledged the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in the discharge of the pastoral office, committed to the pastors of the church by Christ and his apostles; and that the supremacy then pretended to was no such extravagant power as some imagine." (Hist. Ref., vol. i, b. ii, p. 189.) Now if the good bishop did not consider there was any thing extravagant in the supremacy of the English kings, we are at a loss to know what extravagance is: for by it, the king made laws for restraining and coercing his subjects, in religious matters; to compel bishops and ministers to do their duty, and deprive them if they did not; all which and much more is contained in the page preceding that quoted above, and yet the bishop maintains that there was not any great amount of extravagance in the supremacy exercised by Henry VIII., and his successors. Let the reader peruse the few pages that go before the declaration of Mr. Burnet, and he will see at once that the supremacy considers the king as the source of ecclesiastical authority.

Bishop Warburton seems also to teach a doctrine opposed to the supremacy; for he argues that the magistrate cannot confer the ministerial character. He declares, (Alliance, as quoted by Dyer on Luber, p. 172.) "We must be careful how we think the magistrate, by virtue of this branch of the supremacy, can make or confer the character of minister or priest, or even himself exercise that office." Churchmen are well aware that, according to Scripture, kings cannot confer the ministerial office; they are also aware that the king *does virtually confer it*; they are therefore in great perplexity when they attempt to reconcile the ecclesiastical headship of the king with the declarations of God's word.

One of the articles, indeed, gives some countenance to the qualified views of the supremacy which their divines, as mentioned above, sometimes give. The article says, "We give not to our princes the ministering of God's word and the sacraments." This clause is farther explained in the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, for the purpose of meeting the objection of their adversaries who pressed them with the absurdity of a *lay person's* being *head* of the spiritual body. Accordingly she enjoins to her visiters, "That she did not, nor would she ever challenge authority and power to minister divine service in the church; nor would she challenge any other authority than her predecessors, King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. used." Indeed the clause in the article, the injunctions of the queen, and the opinions of the above-mentioned divines, appear to be expositions and glosses which will by no means comport with the powers bestowed upon, and actually exercised by the British monarchs, by virtue of the supremacy. Besides, it is a singular apology by the good and wise Elizabeth, to say that her power did not exceed the limits of that exercised by her father and pious brother; when they exercised the prerogative of the supremacy with no very sparing hand.

3. But if we carefully examine the subject we shall find that *the powers actually exercised* by the English monarchs in ecclesiastical affairs, taken in connection with their prerogative, will be found



enormous, and far exceeding the qualified views given by most of their divines, and the legitimate bounds of scriptural authority and restraint. For the purpose of proving this the following survey of the various parts of the king's ecclesiastical authority is presented to the reader.

(1.) *The authority or supremacy of the pope was transferred to the king.*

All the jurisdiction and authority claimed by the pope as head of the church previous to the Reformation, was transferred to the English crown by the act of supremacy, as far, and perhaps even farther, than was consistent with the laws of the land then in being; though since that time it has undergone some abatements. The reason for the exercise of such a power, as well as the transfer of it to the English kings, is set forth by the judicious Hooker, as he is called, in the following words: "When the whole ecclesiastical state, or the principal persons therein, do need visitation and reformation; when in any part of the church, errors, schisms, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, enormities are grown; which men, in their several jurisdictions, either do not or cannot help: whatsoever any spiritual authority and power (such as legates from the see of Rome did sometimes exercise) hath done or might heretofore have done for the remedies of these evils in lawful sort, (that is to say, without the violation of the laws of God or nature in the deed done,) as much in every degree our laws have fully granted that the king for ever may do, not only by settling ecclesiastical synods on work, that the thing may be their act, and the king their motioner unto it, but by commissions few or many, who, having the king's letters patent, may in the virtue thereof execute the premises as agents in the right, not of their own peculiar and ordinary, but of his supereminent power." (Eccl. Pol., vol. iii, b. viii, p. 278: London 1822.)

The same author asserts that the king has power to command in matters of religion, and that no other power hath authority to overrule him. Hear his own words, "When, therefore, Christian kings are said to have spiritual dominion or supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs and causes, the meaning is, that within their own precincts and territories, they have an authority and power to command even in matters of Christian religion, and that there is no higher nor greater, that can in these cases over command them, where they are placed to reign as kings." He farthermore remarks that the *king ought not to be under man, but under God and the law*. He also states that "power of spiritual dominion is, in causes ecclesiastical, that ruling authority which neither any foreign state, nor yet any part of that politic body at home, wherein the same is established, can lawfully overrule." (*Idem*. p. 237.) According to this author, whose sentiments here are in accordance with the prerogative of the supremacy, the king's power is a *spiritual dominion*, and no ecclesiastical body or persons can overrule him in its exercise. Whatever may be Mr. Hooker's explanation and qualifying distinctions in other parts of his writings, his sentiments as expressed in the foregoing quotations, will have full weight, if we survey the powers actually committed to, and exercised by, the British monarchs in the affairs of the church.

(2.) *The kings and queens of England exercise authority in matters of faith, and are the ultimate judges of what is agreeable or repugnant to the word of God.*

The act of supremacy says expressly that the king hath power to redress and amend all errors and heresies; to enjoin what doctrines are to be preached, and not repugnant to the laws of the land; and if any should preach contrary, he was for the third offence to be judged a heretic, and suffer death. The monarchs of England claimed and exercised the right to *prohibit* all preaching for a time; as did Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth. They sometimes *limited* the clergy's preaching to certain of the 39 articles established by law, as King Charles I. did. All the foregoing kings and queens published instructions or injunctions concerning matters of faith, without consent of the clergy in convocation assembled; and enforced them on the clergy under the penalties of a *premunire*. This made it difficult to understand that clause of the 20th article of the church which says, "The church has authority in matters of faith."

Moreover, the articles of religion were not published at first by the convocation. They were prepared by a council of bishops and other learned men, under the direction and authority of Edward VI., and promulgated by him in June, 1553, and directed to the rectors of the universities and all the clergy for subscription. As Burnet declares, they were neither passed in convocation, nor so much as offered to it. It was only in after times, in the reign of Elizabeth, that they received the sanction of the convocation; and even then the queen had the principal hand in publishing them. Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley were appointed, by King Edward, to accomplish this work. They accordingly framed forty-two articles upon the chief points of the Christian faith; copies of which were sent to the other bishops and learned divines, for their corrections and amendments; after which the archbishop reviewed them a second time, and having corrected them according to his best judgment, presented them to the council, where they also received the royal sanction, and were finally published by the king. This was another high, though legitimate act of the supremacy; for the articles were not brought into parliament, nor agreed upon in the convocation as they ought to have been, and as their title seems to express, and is as follows: "Articles agreed upon by the bishops and other learned men in the convocation held at London in the year 1552, for the avoiding diversities of opinions, and stablishing consent touching true religion. Published by the king's authority." These articles are for substance the same with those now in use, being reduced to the number of thirty-nine, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The reader will meet with the corrections and alterations in Burnet. (Vol. ii, b. i, p. 219, col. 55.) The controverted clause in the 20th article, that the church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in matters of faith, is not in King Edward's articles, nor does it appear how it came into Elizabeth's. Indeed, it appears to be an interpolation. And as to the title of the articles, which states they were the work of the convocation, Bishop Burnet expressly declares that the convocation had nothing to do in the business. After discussing this point he

says: "These evidences make it plain that the articles of religion did not pass in convocation. We have Cranmer's own words for it, that he drew them, and that he, who was always plain and sincere, did not approve of that deceitful title that was prefixed to them to impose on the unwary vulgar." (Hist. Ref., vol. iii, p. 255.) That the articles were published by regal authority, we have ample proof from the mandate addressed to "the officers of the archbishop of Canterbury; requiring them to see that the article of religion should be subscribed." The same appears from "the king's mandate to the bishop of Norwich, sent with the articles to be subscribed by the clergy." In this last, the king required and exhorted the bishop to sign the articles, and in his preaching observe them, and to cause them to be subscribed by all others who do or shall preach." But we refer our readers to Burnet's History of the Reformation for these mandates. (Vol. iii, b. iv, p. 256; Collections No. vii, and viii.) On the whole, it is manifest that the articles of the English Church were not promulgated by the parliament or convocation of England; but were authoritatively published by Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth; and that the convocation and clergy were *compelled* to receive these articles without having power to reject or amend them in any way. The kings and queens of England, then, have the sole authority in matters of faith vested in them by parliament; and the convocation and clergy have nothing to do but to submit; or to undergo the penalties of premunire as in former times, or turn dissenters, as in the later days.

As to the catechism of the Church of England, it was printed with a preface prefixed to it in King Edward's name, bearing date the 24th of May, about seven weeks before his death. It was drawn up by a pious and learned man, supposed to be Bishop Painet, and was given to be revised by some bishops and learned men; and was published authoritatively by the king with instructions to all schoolmasters to teach it. (Idem. vol. iii, b. iv, p. 258.) The Book of Common Prayer was published by the same authority as were the Articles and Catechism, (Idem. vol. ii, b. i, pp. 222, 248,) with the addition of parliamentary authority. (For farther information on the articles &c. see Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i, c. ii, p. 68; also Burnet, vol. ii, b. i, p. 219; vol. iii, b. iv, pp. 253-262.)

(3.) *The king regulates the discipline of the church.*

As to the canon laws, by the statute (25 Henry VIII., c. xix, revised and confirmed by 1 Elizabeth, c. i,) it is declared that all canons not repugnant to the king's prerogative, nor to the laws, statutes, and customs of the realm, shall be used and executed. Canons enacted by the clergy, unless such as are already recognized by parliament, do not bind the laity, whatever regard the clergy may think fit to pay them. The clergy are bound by the canons or constitutions made by the king only; but they must be confirmed by the parliament, to bind the laity. The king is the supreme ordinary, and by the ancient laws of England, might, without act of parliament, make laws for the government of the clergy; and if there be a controversy between spiritual persons concerning jurisdiction, the king is arbitrator, and it is a right of his crown to declare the bounds. (Jacob's Law Dictionary on Canon Law *Supre-*



macy.) The kings of England possess the power of the keys to no small extent. For though the old canon law be in force as far as is consistent with the laws of the land and the prerogatives of the crown; yet the king is the supreme and ultimate judge in the spiritual courts by his delegates, as he is in the courts of common law by his judges. His majesty might appoint a single person of the laity to be his vicar-general in all ecclesiastical causes to reform what was amiss, as King Henry VIII. and Charles I. did; which very much resembles the pope's legates in the times before the Reformation. By authority of parliament, the crown was empowered to appoint thirty-two commissioners, some of the laity, and some of the clergy, to reform the canon or ecclesiastical laws; and though the design was not executed, the power was certainly vested in the king, who might have ratified the new canons, and given them the force of a law, without consent of the clergy in convocation. Therefore, at the coronation of King Charles I. the bishop was directed to pray, *that God would give him-Peter's key of discipline and Paul's doctrine.*

(4.) *The English monarchs order the rites and ceremonies of the church.*

The act of uniformity expressly says—"That the queen's majesty, by the advice of her ecclesiastical commissioners, or of the metropolitan, may ordain such ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory and the edifying of the church." Accordingly her majesty published her injunctions without sending them into convocation, or parliament, and erected a court of *High Commission* for ecclesiastical causes, consisting of commissioners of her own nomination, to see them put into execution. And so jealous was Queen Elizabeth of this branch of her prerogative, that she would not suffer parliament to pass any bill for the amendment or alteration of the ceremonies of the church; it being, as she said, an invasion of her prerogative. (Neal, vol. i, pp. 122, 123.)

(5.) *The British monarchs, in consequence of their prerogative, as head of the church, have the right of ordination, or the principal part in the appointment of bishops.*

The kings and queens of England have sole right of nominating bishops; and the dean and chapter are obliged to choose those whom the kings name, under the penalty of *premunire*; and after they are chosen and consecrated, they might not act but by commission from the crown. (Blackstone, b. i, c. vii, p. 280.) A bishop or archbishop is elected by the chapter of his cathedral church by virtue of a license from the crown. When there is a vacancy, "the king may send the dean and chapter his usual license to proceed to election; which is always to be accompanied with a letter missive from the king, containing the name of the person whom he would have them elect." (Idem. b. i, c. xi.) Moreover "it is enacted by statute 25 Henry VIII., c. xx, that if the dean and chapter refuse to elect the person named by the king, or any archbishop or bishop refuse to confirm or consecrate him, they shall fall within the penalties of the statute of *premunire*. Also by statute 5 Elizabeth, c. i, to refuse the oath of supremacy will incur the pains of *premunire*." (Idem. b. iv, c. 8, p. 114.) These elections, so called, are properly no election at all; and though the writ issued by the

king is called *congè d' elire*, *permission to elect*, it is the mere shadow of election, and it might be properly called a *compulsion to elect*, which is a most absurd contradiction. For the permission to elect, where there is no power to reject, can never be reconciled with the freedom of an election. But the bishoprics of the new foundation, as well as those of Ireland, are all donative, so that there is no necessity to go through the useless round of a *congè d' elire* for the purpose of having them appointed. We may indeed justly say that the king *appoints to office*, seeing the course pursued leaves it in his power to appoint, or have appointed, whom he pleases.

And even in forming an ordinal for ordaining ministers and bishops, the parliament and king are the actors in this matter. For in a session held the 3d and 4th Edward IV., c. xii, an act was passed for a form for ordaining ministers, which declares, "That such forms of ordaining ministers as should be set forth by the advice of six prelates and six divines, to be named by the king, and authorized under the great seal, should be used after April next, and no other." (Neal, vol. i, p. 57.) Here the very *form* or mode of consecration is thrown out of the hands of the clergy, to whom, of right, this properly belongs.

When bishops were made by letters patent, which was before explained, bishops held their office only during the life of the king, as all bishops do during the king's good pleasure. It was the opinion of Cranmer that the exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction depended on the prince; and as he gave it he might restrain or take it away at his pleasure. Accordingly, at the death of Henry, he took out a new commission from Edward VI.

In short the English bishops not only receive their sees from the king, but they hold them, *durante bene placito*—during their good pleasure; *privilegio reginæ*—by privilege of the queen; *vice nomine, et auctoritate nostris*, in our room, name, and authority; *vice regis*, in the place of the king. It is true the mere ceremony of consecration, which is the smallest part of ordination, is performed by bishops; but do not the original choice, the special appointment, and the continuance in office, all of which depend on the king, go farther toward ordination than merely the outward rite?

Besides, the kings of England divided bishoprics as they pleased; they converted benefices from the institutions of their founders, and gave them to cloisters and monasteries, as King Edgar did. They also granted these houses exemption from episcopal jurisdiction; so Ina exempted Glastenbury, and Offa St. Albans from their bishops' visitation. And this continued till the days of William the Conqueror who gave to Battle Abbey the following grant, "That it shall be also free and quiet for ever from all subjection to bishops, or the dominion of any other persons, as Christ's church in Canterbury is." And these precedents were quoted and followed by Henry VIII., at the Reformation, (Burnet, vol. i, p. 198.) Thus the bishops usurped the power that originally belonged to the presbyters and people; the kings wrested from the hands of the bishops their usurped authority, and even added thereto; the pope nearly disfranchised both, kept all to himself, and gave back to the presbyters and people none of their original rights, though he inflicted on them many wrongs.

And finally Henry VIII., stripped violently from the triple crown both his temporal and spiritual power in England, and made and unmade bishops at pleasure, as all his successors have done to the present time. It is true, they allowed in the days of Henry VIII., that the *bishop's pastoral care was of divine institution*; but then they also strenuously maintained, and practised accordingly, "that their kings did always make laws about sacred matters, and that their power reached to that (the making, restraining, and unmaking bishops,) and to the persons of Churchmen as well as to their own subjects." Thus, though the bishop's office was allowed to be of *divine right*, the high and sacred office of kings was of *divine right also*: and consequently kings by divine right could constitute bishops." Thus they argued and overlooked the word of God. .

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ART. II.—THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FAITH AND KNOWLEDGE.

THAT the human mind is restricted in its operations within certain boundaries, is indisputable. However profound our researches, however extensive the field of our observations, or nice and discriminating may be our minds, there are limits beyond which it is impossible to go. We seem, indeed, to be placed in a circle within which we are permitted to range at pleasure: but the moment we attempt to extend our researches beyond it, we are either forced back by an awful apprehension of danger, or, as a punishment for our temerity, are precipitated into an abyss of unfathomable mysteries, where the mind is tossed about in a whirlpool of tumultuous thoughts, which no human intellect can arrange or digest. Is it not owing to a temerity like this, that so many have speculated themselves into the empty dreams of skepticism, or fallen into the gloomy gulf of a heartless atheism? Overleaping the bounds which the Creator has set to human knowledge, they have heedlessly plunged into the depths of an atheistical philosophy, alike dishonouring to God and degrading to man. Is it not from the same cause that so many baseless hypotheses have arisen which have floated about in the intellectual world, and which "dazzle only to blind?" On the other hand, while we prudently keep within our destined sphere of observation, and content ourselves with a knowledge of those facts put within our reach by our Creator, at the same time that our intellect is improved, those things which are beyond the grasp of our comprehension will remain as objects of belief; this is the way of duty and of safety.

In the few remarks we have to make on the subject indicated at the head of this article, we shall be guided by the hints already suggested. But that we may not "speak to the air," we will in the first place, attempt a definition of the two words, *Faith* and *Knowledge*.

1. By *Faith*, we understand that exercise of the mind which embraces any proposition supported by competent testimony. We mean, moreover, those propositions which are not ascertained to be true by scientific investigation, or by the notices of our bodily senses. Propositions which are unaccompanied by testimony, are mere subjects of conjecture, and not objects of faith.

2. Whatever the eye sees, the ear hears, and whatever we taste,



feel, or smell, and whatever may be ascertained by the researches of our reasoning powers, should be comprehended within the circle of the *sciences*. All beyond these are the objects of *faith*.

It is true that the objects of faith are revealed to us through the medium of our senses, while the objects themselves are far beyond their reach. That we may understand this the more perfectly, let us illustrate our meaning by a few pertinent examples. A person who has never seen the city of Pekin, *believes* simply upon the testimony of others, that there is such a place. Now the question is, How was this fact revealed to him? The answer is, either by his hearing some person relate it, and then the testimony was communicated to him through his *ears*, or he has read concerning it, and then it is communicated through his *eyes*. A man gives me information that his neighbour's house is on fire. I *believe* him. The simple fact that the house is on fire, is to me an object of *faith*, but the evidence of it is an object of *sense*. I know it, because I heard it with my ears. So all those subjects which are revealed in the sacred Scriptures, which relate to the invisible world, to the past or the future, are objects of *faith*, while the evidence on which my faith rests is an object of *sense*. I look up to the works of nature, and think I see in them evidences of the existence of a supreme Intelligence. These evidences are visible to the *eye*, and hence through this medium is communicated to my mind the truth of the proposition that there is a God; yet, as I see him not, his existence itself is an object of *faith*. This sublime truth lies far beyond the reach of all my senses, and therefore cannot be included among the subjects of *knowledge*.

From these remarks it is manifest that what is *known* to be true by some, is simply *believed* by others. Thus the man who has travelled in the land of Palestine, and has personally seen and examined the city of Jerusalem, *knows* that there is such a city, while to me, who have never been there, its existence is an object of *faith*. Departed spirits *know* what is in the invisible world, while the living simply *believe* upon the testimony of others. The Son of God *knew* all respecting the invisible world, because he "came forth from the bosom of the Father," and "needed not that any should teach him," while to his disciples all these things were objects of *faith*, in the existence of which they believed upon the testimony of their divine Teacher. From these remarks it will be perceived that the boundaries of our knowledge are enlarged in exact proportion to the extent and accuracy of our own personal observations. He that travels and sees much, reads much, and thinks closely on all subjects which come within the range of his observation, is the least dependent upon others for his information. To those who are confined to a narrow circle of observation, who neither see, read, nor think for themselves, almost every thing is an object of faith; they depend upon the testimony of others.

Whatever passes through our own minds is a subject of *knowledge*. We are just as certain of our desires, emotions, of the sensations of pleasure and pain, of love and hatred, of approbation and aversion, as we are of our own existence. No reasoning, no testimony can increase their certainty. The same may be said of the whole external world, so far as we have seen it. But of those parts which we

have not seen, we are dependent either upon the deductions of reason drawn from those facts we do know, or upon the testimony of others. To the old world, after the discovery of the new by Columbus, the existence of America was an object of *faith*, while to Columbus himself it was a subject of *knowledge*. Their faith, however, was founded upon the evidence which he presented to their senses—they heard him speak, and relate all the adventures of his perilous voyage and travels, and, confiding in his veracity, believed his testimony. In this instance also we perceive the difference between *faith* and *knowledge*, and that the one is derived from the other.

The same remarks hold good in respect to all those truths revealed to us in the sacred Scriptures. The revelation itself is made to our senses, to our eyes or ears, and this revelation is to us an evidence of the truth that God made “all things by the word of his power,”—that Adam and Eve were made “out of the dust of the ground,”—that Abraham and all the patriarchs, Moses and the prophets existed, and did the wonderful things attributed to them. To the same revelation, the knowledge of which is communicated to our minds through the medium of our senses, are we indebted for the evidence of all those facts which relate to Jesus Christ, his apostles and disciples, and all that train of circumstances which accompanied the establishment of Christianity. None of these things did we ever *see*, or *hear*, or *feel*; but we have either *seen* or *heard* the account which is given of them by those who did see or hear them; and hence our *faith* is founded upon the authority of the narrative which revealed those things unto us; the *evidence* is a subject of *knowledge*, while the *truth* supported by that evidence is an object of *faith*. Hence the apostle saith, “Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.” This declaration of the inspired apostle is but a dictate of common sense. By the word of God which had been spoken unto the people, they had presented unto their sense of hearing, and through this external medium communicated to their understanding, an evidence of those truths relating to Jesus Christ and his gospel, which had been revealed by the Spirit for the instruction and salvation of the human family; and while these truths themselves were objects of that “*faith* which cometh by *hearing*,” the *evidence* on which faith rested was a subject of knowledge, presented to the analyzation of their reasoning powers, by which they were enabled to judge of its competency to support the alleged facts. In like manner our *faith* in all those truths, whether of history or of direct revelation, which we have not tested by actual observation, or have not been made conscious of from experience, “cometh to us from *hearing* ;” and in this respect the evidence and the truth itself, are perfectly adapted to our compound being, made up as it is of body and mind; the evidence is communicated to the mind through the medium of some one or more of our bodily senses.

The same principle is recognized in that declaration of the apostle which affirms that “through faith we understand the worlds were framed by the word of God.” How do we understand this by *faith*? The answer is not difficult. The Scriptures affirm the fact. These Scriptures are an object of *knowledge*. We read them with our *eyes*. Through this medium we come to a belief of the fact just now stated, namely, *That God made the worlds by his word:—He spake and*

the foundations of the earth were laid, and the heavens sprung into existence. Having read these things with our eyes, the truth contained in them is communicated to the inner man, the *understanding*, through this external medium; and having examined the evidence on which the truth rests, and found it competent to support the proposition that *God made all things by the word of his power*, we lay hold of it by *faith* as the truth of God. Now, as in the other cases, the truth revealed in the words written, is an object of *faith*, for we did not see this sublime act of almighty power, while the *revelation itself*, which is to us the *evidence* of the truth, is a subject of *knowledge*, submitted to our examination; to rejection, if found wanting of competent testimony in its support; but of our belief if sustained by such testimony.

It was remarked that whatever passes in our own minds is a subject of *science* or *knowledge*—that we are as conscious of our emotions and sensations, as we are of our own existence. We know, for instance, what is the object of desire, of hope, of fear, as well as those things which excite in our minds pleasurable or painful emotions, love or hate. These things, therefore, are subjects on which the mind ruminates, which may be felt as evidently as we feel an impression which is made upon any of our bodily senses. But how they are communicated, and to what they will lead ultimately, is beyond the reach of our knowledge. Those objects with which we are immediately surrounded, objects of sense which act upon us daily and hourly, and every moment of our lives, and which excite desires, aversions, hatred or love, pleasure or pain, according to the nature of the object with which we come in contact, are generally well known, and are therefore subjects for the exercise of our reasoning powers. I see a beautiful object or hear a musical sound, and am immediately moved with a pleasurable sensation. Now I know that this emotion is excited by this beautiful object, or by this musical sound, and they are both objects of sense—the one of the *eye* and the other of the *ear*—and the sensation produced by the sight of the one, and the hearing of the other, is also a subject of *knowledge*. I have no more doubt of its existence in my mind than I have of the existence of the object which I beheld, or of the sound which I heard. But the mysterious connection between the one and the other is perfectly beyond the reach of my *knowledge*; it is, therefore, purely an object of *faith*; I *believe* upon evidence; the one my outward sense of seeing and hearing, and the other the inward sense of *feeling*; that there is such a mysterious connection between these objects and my mind, or a law existing which immediately produces this effect upon my mind when it comes in contact with those external objects through the medium of my senses:—I say, I believe this as firmly as I do any truth of divine revelation, or of any historical fact; and the one is as much an object of faith as the other. Here also is an evident distinction between *faith* and *knowledge*. That there is a beautiful object I *know*, because I *see* it; that there is a musical sound I *know* also, because I *hear* it; that in seeing and hearing these, I am pleasurably affected, moved with a joyful sensation, I equally well *know*, because I *feel* it; but *how*, by what law of my being I am thus affected at the sight of the eye; and the hearing of the ear, I cannot tell; and yet of the fact itself, I cannot doubt any more than I can of my own existence. This fact,



therefore, that such a law exists, though perfectly beyond my comprehension, is an object of my *faith*, in which I believe as firmly as I do that there is a God, because the *evidence* of its truth rests upon the same sort of testimony—the testimony of my internal and external senses.

We may, if we mistake not, apply this reasoning to the faith and experience of the Christian. It has already been remarked that all those truths which relate to the invisible world, such as the existence of a supreme spiritual Intelligence, a future state of existence, of a heaven and a hell where rewards and punishments are distributed, are objects of *faith*; they rest entirely on divine testimony. This testimony, however, is itself an object of sense. And even in ancient times God generally, if indeed not uniformly, revealed himself unto the patriarchs and prophets through the medium of some external symbol, which was an object of sense; not, however, to the exclusion of the direct internal operation of the Holy Spirit. Thus he appeared to his first church in the divine *shechinah*, which was a visible symbol of his presence; to Abraham in a *smoking furnace*; to Moses in the *burning bush*; and to the prophets by a variety of symbols and voices, all which were emblems of his presence and indications of his will; such as the *Urim and Thummim* which were upon the breastplate of the high priest; and finally he assumed a bodily shape in the person of Jesus Christ, so that the apostle could say, "We have seen and handled the word of life." In all these variety of ways, as is known to every reader of the Bible, God gave tokens of his presence, and indications of his will, by some visible representation, so made as to convince them that God spoke his will to them by these means. Now these evidences of the divine presence were all visible, and therefore subjects of *knowledge*, through the medium of some one or more of the external senses, conveying to the understanding, by these outward and sensible signs, truths of the highest importance and most tremendous magnitude. But while the *evidence* of these truths was thus visible and tangible, and therefore subjects of *knowledge*; the truths themselves were invisible realities, and in the proper sense of the word objects of *faith*. In this instance we see that faith derives its existence from, and rests entirely upon evidence presenting truth to the mind through the medium of the bodily senses. Such is the mysterious connection between the body and the mind, their mutual dependence upon each other, and the aids they afford one another in the reception of truth, and in the exercise of *faith* and *knowledge*.

Just so revelation is to us a visible vehicle through which we hear the voice of God speaking to us his word and will. This revelation itself is as much an object of sense, for we derive all our ideas from its pages through the medium of our external senses, as are those heavens which declare the glory of God, and that firmament which showeth his handy work. The only difference in this respect is, the one is written in the vast expanse over our heads, and shines out in those brilliant characters which are apparent in the sun, moon, and stars; and the other is written on paper, and transmitted to us by means of the impressions of types. And however mysterious may be the characters of the one, or more plain those of the other, they mutually explain and sustain each other; and the invisible and sublime truths which they proclaim are in each volume conveyed to the mind

through the medium of the *eye*. This exquisitely fine and delicate organ of the body, the workmanship of which alone convinced an atheist that there is a God who made it—so placed by its Creator as to enable it to take an extensive range over his works, and to survey a multitude of objects—is the grand instrument through which God speaks to the soul of man, both in his word and works, and makes it understand that he exists, and that he requires such and such duties at his hands.

But to come more particularly to the application of these remarks to the *faith* and *experience* of the Christian. In the revelation of God's will are made known all those truths in relation to God, to Jesus Christ, to his death and resurrection, to the origin and apostacy of man, to his redemption by Jesus Christ, to the necessity and nature of repentance, of regeneration, justification, and holiness of heart, as well as those principles which are comprehended within the circle of doctrines to be believed or experienced, and duties to be performed. These are presented to us, accompanied, as we believe, with all that weight of testimony which is necessary to command the assent of our understandings. Having examined and analyzed this testimony with all the care and critical accuracy of which we are capable, we pronounce it amply sufficient to support the proposition that *these sacred Scriptures are genuine and authentic*. This proposition therefore we *believe*. That there is such a Book, which we call the sacred Scriptures, we *know*, because we have both seen and handled it. The simple fact, therefore, that such a book exists, is not an object of *faith*, but is a subject of *knowledge*, just as much so as that there is a material world. But the proposition that these Scriptures are the word of God, containing a genuine and authentic record of his acts and will, is an object of *faith*, because its truth rests upon testimony, the testimony of the inspired writers themselves, the internal testimony of the Scriptures, and those collateral evidences derivable from various sources. Here then we have another clear distinction between *knowledge* and *faith*; we *know* there is such a book as the Bible; we *believe* it contains the truth of God upon the strength of that testimony with which it is accompanied. In both cases the evidence is communicated to the understanding through the medium of our bodily senses; we *see* and *feel* the Book, and with the *eye* we read its contents, while the mind is employed in ascertaining the true meaning of its words; we also, with the eye, read the testimonies adduced in support of its Divine authority, while the understanding is busied in sifting and weighing the evidence, and finally determining on its strength; and having found it sufficient to decide the point in favor of its high claims, the mind puts forth its powers and embraces the truth as an object of *faith*. These are the means employed in the investigation of truth, and the process the mind undergoes in laying hold of those objects, as objects of *faith*, which are beyond its comprehension and of the notices of the bodily senses.

Now we have embraced the sacred Scriptures as the truth of God. That evidence which supported the proposition has been forced upon us through the medium of that sort of testimony which is not only tangible, as it is presented to the understanding by means of the external senses, but of that irresistible character which commands such

an assent of the mind as involves criminality if we do not yield to its convictions.

On reading this Book, the first thing which strikes me most forcibly, after looking at that truly sublime account of the origin of all things, of the creation of man, of his innocence, apostacy, and banishment from paradise, is that *I am a sinner*. I ask why? The answer is, because I have violated the law of God. I meditate upon this. I look into my own heart and retrospect my life. I compare each with the requirements of that law. I bow to the truth of this law, and own its justice, its goodness and purity. I confess the truth. I am a sinner. I *feel* that I am a sinner. I find also an inexplicable something pouring light into my mind, and thereby convincing me more and more of my guilt, of my exceeding sinfulness. I ask myself, what is this which so sharply and oppressively pierces my conscience, and makes me tremble from a fear of the consequences of my conduct? I look into the Book which I have believingly embraced as the truth of God, and it tells me that it is *His Spirit* which thus convinces me of sin. I *believe* it. This, then, is an object of my *faith*. I cannot *see* this Spirit with my bodily eyes, nor *hear* his voice with my bodily ears; but I can *see* the Book which tells me the truth that it is this divine Spirit which has reflected light upon my mind, and penetrated my heart with a sorrowful sense of my sinfulness. This Book, therefore, is an object of *knowledge*; I *know* its contents because I have read them; but the fact that the Spirit of its adorable Author has operated upon my heart, is an object of my *faith*, resting upon the testimony presented to my mind through the medium of my bodily senses; and hence, if the one be true, so is the other; for they both rest upon the same testimony, namely, God speaking in his word; for the identical Book which tells me I am a sinner, declares to me in equally plain and unequivocal language that the Spirit of God has impressed this truth upon my heart. Here again *faith* and *knowledge* have their distinct and appropriate place and office.

But now I *feel* that I am a sinner. This also is a subject of *knowledge*. I am as certain of this fact by consciousness as I am by my eyes that that is a Book, and more certain, if that were possible, than I am that it is the Book of God: *this*, however, is made doubly certain to me; that is, its *truth* is now certified to me, when it testifies that I am a sinner, by my consciousness that it is so. For I can no more be deceived in respect to what passes through my mind, of its emotions, its sorrows or painful sensations, than I can of those sensations produced upon my animal frame by external objects.

I have therefore arrived at another truth by means of my external senses, by reading the Bible, and of this, that I am a sinner, I am certain, because I *feel* it; and that I do feel it I am equally certain, from that sort of *knowledge* which arises from *consciousness*, which never deceives, though a wild imagination may, which runs away with the judgment, exciting "fear where no" ground for "fear is;" and yet that grand invisible agent, the Holy Spirit, by which my conscience has been aroused to see and to feel how bitter a thing it is to sin against God, is an object of my *faith*; while the truth respecting His existence and operation is revealed to me in that Book which is itself a subject of *knowledge*, and its contents are made known to



my understanding through the medium of my external senses. O the happy, the mysterious connection between the body and the soul, between external objects and the mind, *faith* and *knowledge*, and the mutual helps they are one to another. The more I study this subject, the more profoundly do I adore my Creator for having so delightfully blended these things together and made them mutually dependant upon and useful to each other.

Now I think I have tested this truth of Divine revelation by my own experience. I am a sinner; the Book of God tells me so; and I *feel* that it is so in truth. This therefore I *know*, while I *believe* that it is the Spirit of God which has convinced me of its truth.

But being convinced that I am a sinner, I feel that I need pardon. Looking into the Book of God, I find that Jesus Christ tasted death for sinners. This truth therefore I *believe*. I *know* indeed that this Book contains a statement of this fact, because I therein *read* it. My *faith* therefore is built in this case, the same as in the others I have examined, upon my *knowledge* of the evidence which supports the fact. It is no conjecture. It is no fancy, no dictate of the imagination, because I *see* the words, and I perfectly comprehend their import. But yet the fact itself, that Jesus Christ died for sinners, is an object of my *faith*, because I did not *see* him die, nor *hear* him groan, nor "*feel* his gushing blood." I receive this truth upon the testimony of others, who did *see* these things; for those who were *eye* and *ear* witnesses of those solemn and sublime events have left them upon record. This is enough; for on examination I find "their record is true, and is no lie."

But the question arises, How am I assured that he died for *me*? I no otherwise believe this fact than by finding myself a member of the human family, for *all* of whom, my Bible informs me, the Lord of life and glory "tasted death." This, however, satisfies me, more especially in conjunction with that truth which pervades every part of Divine revelation, that "God is no respecter of persons," that He is loving to *all* men, that "His tender mercies are over all his works." This fact therefore, that Jesus Christ "tasted death" for *me*, is supported by the same kind of testimony as that which assures me that He died at *all*; for the same book which proclaims the one truth declares the other. Here then my *faith* fixes, as upon a rock, and can no more be shaken than I can blind my eyes to the Book in which it is written, or withhold my assent from the truth which it reveals.

The same unerring witness, the Book of God, testifies to me that the *design* for which Jesus Christ died for me was, that I might be saved from my sins. I read this truth with my *eyes*, and therefore *know* that it is contained in the Book of God; and I *believe* it upon this infallible testimony. That such a truth is recorded I *know* by the most indubitable of all evidence, because I *see* it so written; and that it is true I *believe* upon evidence equally strong, because it is the testimony of God speaking to me in His written word.

Now this same Book tells me that if I *believe* in Jesus Christ as my Redeemer, trusting in Him alone for pardon and salvation, I shall be saved from my sins, and shall be filled with holy peace and joy. That this is also recorded in the Book of God I *know*, as before, because I read it with my own *eyes*, and therefore can no more doubt of it than

I can that there is such a Book. Why then, it may be asked, do I not also *know* that he will save me? Simply because I have not either *seen*, or *heard*, or *felt* that He will do it. But I fully *believe* that He will, because I have all that evidence which a rational being can demand, that such is his will, such is his intention, provided I throw myself upon Him. I finally venture, saying, "Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief." The moment I do this, I find my consciousness of guilt, which so burdened my soul, is gone, and is succeeded by a calm and holy peace, which I cannot fully describe! I immediately cry out as the children of Israel did when they found the food in the wilderness, *What is it?* This is something to which I am a stranger. I never felt the like before. And though I *know* I have this something, I know not what to call it, because it surpasses my understanding. I say I *know* that I have it, by the most infallible of all proof, namely, inward *consciousness*. I am just as conscious that the uneasy sensation of guilt which I felt, like a gnawing worm, corroding all my happiness, is removed, and that an inward sense of peace and joy has succeeded, as I am that any thought ever passed through my mind. This, therefore, is a subject of *knowledge*; knowledge arising from an inward feeling, the existence of which I cannot mistake. It is feeling accompanied with a love to God and his commandments, which I never before felt.

But whence it came, by what power or invisible agent it was communicated, I *know* not. I again have recourse to my Divine Book. This tells me, in plain, unambiguous language, that "the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God," that "he that *believeth* hath the witness in himself;" that the "fruit of the Spirit is *peace, love, joy*," &c. Now that I have this peace, this holy love and joy, I *know*, because I have the "witness" of it "in myself," and my Bible tells me that this *witness* is given by the Spirit of the living God; "the Spirit of adoption." Here then is another object of my *faith*, the Spirit of God. And that something, which I *felt*, and therefore *knew* that I possessed, but did not know what to call, by what name to distinguish, I am now informed is the witness and *fruit* of this *Spirit*, which has come into my heart, and brings with it all that heaven-born peace which the world knoweth not, which the natural man cannot understand.

Now I think I have tested the truth of my theory by my own *experience*. I *knew* I was guilty, because I *felt* it. I *believed* that Jesus Christ came and died to save just such guilty sinners as I was, because my Bible, the truth of which I had before proved, told me so. I then *believed* on him as my almighty Saviour, and *felt* that my guilt was removed. Not yet knowing how or by what invisible agent this change was effected, I went to my Bible, and this again, by its luminous pages, dispersed the mists of ignorance from my mind, assuring me that it was the Spirit of God, by whose dictation its own pages were written, which had sealed my pardon, and brought into my soul "joy and peace in believing." That I now have this joy and peace, I *know*, because I *feel* them, am as conscious of them as I am that I now think; and I fully and firmly *believe* that they came from God through the agency of the Holy Spirit, because of this fact I am assured in his Holy Book.

It will, it *must*, as appears to me, be perceived by every attentive reader, that all this information has been conveyed to my mind through the medium of my bodily senses. I *see*, I *read* the Book of God. By this means I *know* what it says. The objects therein revealed are not—I mean those which relate to things past and future, and to those which are invisible—objects of sense or subjects of knowledge, but objects of *faith*; and yet the evidence that they do exist, and that such past events as are therein related *did* come to pass, and that such future events as are therein predicted *will* hereafter come to pass, is presented to my understanding through my *eyes* while I read it in the Book of God; and hence my *faith* rests on testimony as palpable, as self-evident, as any matter of fact can possibly be made to appear.

*Faith* differs from *knowledge* in another respect. We *know* things as they pass in review before us, either as they are presented to our understandings through the medium of our external senses, or as they pass through our minds, and are therefore subjects of consciousness. Thus all I *see* with my *eyes* in the visible and natural world, or *read* in books, or *hear* with my *ears*, whether articulate or inarticulate sounds, all that I *taste*, *smell*, or *feel*, as well as all the desires and emotions which arise in my heart, all these things I *know*, that is, I know that they *exist*, whether I am able to scan their nature or account for their causes and effects or not. Whatever art or science I learn, or whatever conclusion I draw from existing facts, I also *know*, because they come within the reach of my comprehension. But these things are all present to the mind. As to those things of this character which are past, they become objects of contemplation by the effort of memory and the power of association; and respecting all such, when we speak of them, we say we *knew* them; we *knew* such a man who is now dead; we *knew* such an event which transpired at such a time; but respecting the future we know nothing.

But *faith* is occupied about both past and future events. When I read the history of past events; such as the creation of the world; the flood; the dispersion of the human family; the building of Rome; the wars of Julius Cesar, &c. &c., though the history containing these facts is present before me, and I therefore *know* there is such a history, yet the facts which it details are past, and are objects of my *faith*; a *faith* grounded upon the truth of the *history*. So in regard to future events. All those predictions which I find in the Scriptures respecting the future destiny of man, the final judgment and its consequences, are objects of *faith*. I *know* indeed that such predictions are contained in the Bible, because I therein *read* them; but the events themselves I *know* not, because they have not come to pass, and yet I *believe* in them as firmly as if they had already passed, because they are revealed to me in the Book of God, which cannot lie.

Now apply these remarks to the *faith* of an experienced Christian. What God has already done for me I know from memory. I remember the "wormwood and the gall," which I drank in the days of my bitter repentance; the guilt with which my conscience was oppressed, and the groans and cries which I uttered in the ears of my offended Lord. I also remember my happy deliverance from this state of bondage and guilt, and the peace, joy, and love which accompanied that deliverance. All these things, from memory, I know did take place;



they come up vividly to my recollection. And from consciousness I now *know* that this peace, this joy, and this love to God and man, abide in my heart; and since my Bible has told me whence they came, I steadfastly believe in the existence and direct operation of the Holy Spirit, as the agent and source of all these inward and spiritual enjoyments. The enjoyments themselves, the knowledge of which is predicated of the possession and indwelling of the Holy Spirit, are a subject of *knowledge*. I *know* that I have them; while the source whence they came, the Holy Spirit, is an object of my *faith*. Now I am travelling through a world of trials and difficulties, as well as of duties and enjoyments. In this state of pilgrimage, I need help. My race also will soon end. I therefore look forward with not a little anxiety to the end of my earthly pilgrimage, to see, if possible, the momentous consequences which will result from my present course of conduct. But so far as *knowledge* is concerned, all is darkness. I *know* nothing, I cannot indeed tell "what shall be on the morrow."

Here again my Bible comes in to my aid. In this Divine Book I find numerous promises of comfort, of protection, of guidance, while I am passing through my pilgrimage, and finally of everlasting life, if faithful, at the end of my spiritual warfare. On these promises I fix my *faith*. I *know* indeed that these promises are made in the Book of God to the believer in Jesus Christ, because I therein *see* them; and I judge, from comparing my feelings and life with the descriptions of the Christian's character and enjoyments, and with the commandments of God, that I have reason to conclude myself a Christian; and therefore I claim them by *faith* as belonging to me, and derive all the comfort and strength from them I can, while I look forward and anticipate, as the final result, the blessedness of everlasting life. It will be perceived that all those things which refer to futurity, whether they respect the remaining days of my pilgrimage on earth, or my state in another world, are to me objects of *faith*; while the evidence, that is, the Bible, which proves the existence of these invisible realities, is a subject of knowledge, and is communicated to my understanding through the medium of my external senses. In the Bible I *see*, I *read* those blessed promises which its adorable Author has left upon record for my encouragement and comfort; and, believing them true, I fix my *faith* firmly and unwaveringly upon them, and hold fast under all the circumstances of life. In these respects, therefore, the distinction between *faith* and *knowledge* is very apparent, and the manner in which they mutually assist each other. The evidence on which *faith* is founded is *known*, while the truths supported by that evidence are objects of *faith*.

But here a question may arise whether *faith* is equally certain with *knowledge*? I think it is. Though I never myself saw the city of Pekin, or Constantinople, or Jerusalem, I have no more doubt of their existence than if I had surveyed them with my own eyes, because I have the fullest evidence imaginable, that those cities do exist in the longitudes and latitudes in which geography has placed them; and yet their existence is purely an article of faith, no less so than it is that there was such a person as Jesus Christ, and that he suffered, died, and rose again; and my faith in these facts is built upon the same kind of testimony, and that is the testimony of those who had

seen these cities; for I believe that there was such a person as Jesus Christ on the testimony of those who saw him, conversed with him, and actually handled him after his resurrection from the dead. All these facts, therefore, are as evident to my mind, though purely and strictly objects of *faith*, the moment I admit the truth of the historians who have related them, as if I myself had seen them in the manner the historians themselves did. Indeed, I can no more doubt of those facts which are related in history, allowing the history to be true, than I can question the evidence of my external senses; because I have the evidence of my senses that those things are recorded, whenever I read them in an authentic history; if therefore I am not deceived by the one, neither can I be by the other.

The same remark holds true respecting all those things revealed in the sacred Scriptures. The moment I admit the truth of those sacred Books—and I have something more than my external senses to convince me of their truth—I oblige myself to the most unwavering belief in every thing they say respecting events past, present, and to come; respecting God, heaven, and hell; and the eternal destinies of the righteous and the wicked. Before I can allow myself to doubt the truth and reality of any of these things, I must abandon the Books as spurious in which they are recorded. In these respects therefore I am just as certain of the truth of these invisible realities, as I am that I see the Book which has revealed their existence. This Book I *see* and *read*. There can be no deception here. In this Book I read that there is a God, a heaven, a hell; that I possess an immortal soul, and that I shall be rewarded or punished in a future state; and that the one or the other depends upon the manner in which I improve my time and opportunities in this world. There can be no deception in these points. These truths therefore I must, to be consistent, as firmly *believe* as I assuredly *know* that the Book records them. Hence it is said that “Faith is the substance,” or confidence “of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen.” It is accompanied with evidence so strong and commanding that it brings to the mind a realizing sense of the realities of the invisible world.

The same may be said in relation to those truths which regard experimental godliness. In respect to the experience itself, it is a subject of *knowledge*. As before said, I am just as well assured from consciousness that I now have a peace and a joy, and a love to the commandments of God, which cannot be derived from any earthly source, as I can be that I am pained at the recollection of any mournful event. This I *know* because I *feel* it. And as the Bible tells me, “Love is of God,”—that “he that loveth is begotten of God,”—that the joy of the Christian is “joy in the Holy Ghost,”—and that “he who loveth God keepeth his commandments,” I am authorized to believe that the love and joy of which I am conscious come from God and are communicated to my heart by the Holy Spirit. This I am authorized to call the witness and the fruits of the Spirit. The Bible is my authority.

But in regard to heaven or the invisible world, properly speaking, I *know* nothing respecting it. I *know* indeed that the Bible speaks much of heaven, and gives many vivid and delightful descriptions of its enjoyments and of its inhabitants. All these things I *know*,

because I *see* and *read* them in the Bible. Do I therefore doubt their existence because they are objects of *faith* and not of *knowledge*? Not at all. So long as I confide in the Divine authority of that blessed Book, I no more doubt of the real existence of these things than I do that I have a thinking and conscious soul. Indeed, my faith rests on the same sort of evidence in respect to the existence of both; the evidence conveyed to my mind through the medium of my *eyes* while I read in God's Book that He made man "a living soul," and that He prepared a kingdom "*for the righteous* before the foundation of the world."

Let no one therefore say that because objects of faith are beyond the reach of sense, or the comprehension of reason, or the investigations of science, their existence is the less certain. Before this is yielded to the skeptic, it must be made to appear that his faith in those past events which are matters of historic truth, is uncertain merely because those events were not known to himself. They were known to others, and those others have handed them down to him in the authentic records of history in such a manner that he no more doubts of them than he does of those things which he himself sees and knows. And we have evidence of precisely the same character as to the truth of every thing related in the Bible. As to its historical facts, our faith rests upon the credibility of those who have related them. The experimental parts are tested by *consciousness*. The preceptive commend themselves to every man's judgment. The doctrinal also address themselves to the understanding, and challenge our approval and belief from their adaptation to our condition—our moral, relative, and responsible condition; and those truths which relate to the invisible world have been unfolded by God himself, who certainly had as perfect an acquaintance with all those eternal realities, as any, even the wisest and most accurate historian had of the events which he details. If therefore we must believe in the latter because he relates what he *knew*, we should by all means believe the former for the same reason; and indeed, if the strength of our faith should be in proportion to the wisdom and credibility of the witness, then the faith of the Christian should be the strongest of all others. Hence says an inspired apostle, "If we receive the witness of man, the witness of God is greater." If we are to confide in the testimony given by a fallible man, who from the imperfection of his knowledge is continually liable to be imposed upon by the illusions of error, how much more should we confide in the testimony of God, whose omnipotence enables him to resist all adverse powers, and whose knowledge is so vast and comprehensive that to him deception is impossible. This is the argument of the apostle, and it commends itself as sound and conclusive to every man who believes in the existence of an infinitely wise Intelligence. And as to those who disbelieve this fundamental truth of all religion, their minds must be so blinded by the illusive dreams of a false philosophy, that to them reasoning is lost and demonstration powerless.

Let it no longer be said that faith in invisible things is a delusion. The faith which rests upon this evidence is as firm as demonstration itself. If, indeed, the Bible were false, "our faith were vain," and we are yet in the sinful pollution of a fabled religion. But this foundation of the Christian's faith has been tested by science, by the most



critical researches, by the most profound investigations ; and by these means it has been found resting upon the immoveable ROCK OF TRUTH. On this foundation therefore he builds the structure of his faith and hope, and on these he ascends to heaven, the throne of the eternal God. He brings his heart to the test of experience, and measures his character by those infallible rules laid down in the word of God which distinguish the righteous from the wicked ; and though he may find himself, while "weak in the faith," and young in religious experience, coming short in many things, yet, placing himself beneath the "mercy seat," he there waits for the reviving influences of divine grace, by which means, with suitable exercise, he "grows to the perfect stature of a man in Christ Jesus." He then looks up by faith in God, through his glorious Mediator, takes hold of those promises which he has made to His believing people, and joyfully presses forward to the "mark of the prize," hoping ere long to arrive at that mansion which his heavenly Father hath prepared for those who have "washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." And such a one can say, "I live ; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me ; and the life that I live, I live by FAITH in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

It will be perceived by the attentive reader, from what has been said, that it is taken for granted we receive our knowledge through the medium of our external senses. As some may be disposed to question this, it may be worth our while to spend a few moments in its proof. The soul of man, whatever may be its powers or activity, is now enclosed in the body. Here it is as in a prison. The external senses are the only windows through which it can see, or hear, feel, or develope any of its powers. Of consequence, whatever ideas the mind possesses, or whatever impressions are made upon it, it must receive them through this outward vehicle. Any man must be convinced of this, who will imagine to himself a fellow being blind or deaf. What idea can this man have of either colors or sounds ? And suppose him also devoid of the sense of feeling, tasting, or smelling, can you imagine any one impression of any sort of which he is susceptible ? Not one. He could have no more ideas of any thing, either external or internal, than a stick or a stone. To such a man you might preach in vain—on his ears the thunder might roar, on his eyes the lightnings might flash, or he might be surrounded with the most fragrant flowers and the sweetest spices, and he would remain unaffected by either the one or the other. Talk to a deaf man of God, of religion, of heaven or hell, and he would have no more idea of what you say, than if you were to descant upon the beauty of a landscape to the man born blind.

Though this has long since been admitted by all sound philosophers,\*

\* "Who can deny," says Mr. Wesley in his *Thoughts on Necessity*, "that not only the memory, but all the operations of the soul, are now dependant on the bodily organs, the brain in particular? insomuch that a blow on the back part of the head (as frequent experience shows) may take away the understanding, and destroy at once both sensation and reflection, and an irregular flow of the spirits may quickly turn the deepest philosopher into a madman. We must allow likewise, that while the very power of thinking depends so much upon the brain, our judgments must needs depend thereon, and in the same proportion. It must be farther allowed, that, as our sensations, our reflections, and our judg-

yet there are some timid Christians who are afraid to allow it, lest it should in some way weaken the authority of divine revelation, or at least undermine experimental religion. This, to say the least of it, is a vulgar prejudice, which has no foundation in truth. Our religion is not of a nature to be shaken by any truth in sound philosophy. And it will be found, on examination, that this theory, so far from weakening our faith in any part of Christianity, does but confirm it the more strongly.

It is manifest, from the entire history of God's dispensations, that he has always adapted them to this compound state of man, by conveying instructions to his mind through the medium of the external senses. This I have already proved. Now why did he do this? Manifestly because, as man is constituted, there was no other possible way by which it could be done so as to make an intelligible and lasting impression upon his mind. As this mind is locked up in a material vehicle, and cannot receive impressions or develop its powers otherwise than through its external senses, God has ever adopted a mode of instruction suited to man's constitution, by addressing him through external signs or symbols, by speech addressed to his understanding through his ears, and by a variety of figures under which was veiled moral and spiritual instruction. The whole body of divine revelation is addressed to the understanding through the *eye* or the *ear*; those who can read it *see* its truths; and those who for want of education cannot read for themselves, *hear* it from others that can.

Now, we ask, is not this the surest of all possible methods of affording to man a demonstration of the truth of God? Of what can we be more certain than of that which we *see* and *hear*? In this manner God makes himself, in some sense, visible to man—that is, his *will* is expressed to him by visible signs or symbols—in words or speech which can be easily comprehended and applied to experimental and practical purposes. All this is perfectly adapted to the state of man, as a compound being, made of body and mind, the latter being caged, as it were, in the former, and receiving its light through those windows of the body which the Creator placed there for that very purpose. Intelligible speech, which I hear, my mind comprehends.

We allow, indeed, that God can and may communicate to the heart of man directly by his Holy Spirit. Here an impression of truth is made. By this means the believer is assured of his adoption into the family of God, and of his interest in the atoning merits of the Lord Jesus Christ. But the question here arises, how he came to *know* any thing about this Spirit, or even that there is such a Being as the eternal Spirit? Suppose a man destitute of the revelation of God's word, could he have had any perceptions of the existence and all-pervading energy of this Spirit if he had no eyes to behold his works, or no ears to listen to the oral instruction of others, or no external sense through which he could receive those impressions from without which cause a correspondent feeling within? Most certainly every person must at once perceive that he could not. Equally impossible is it for such a man, thus deprived of the benefits of an

ments, so our will and passions also, which naturally flow from our judgments, ultimately depend on the fibre of the brain." Wesley's Works, vol. vi. p. 209.

outward revelation, to comprehend any of those truths which are sustained by either external testimony or internal consciousness. The external testimony is excluded for want of eyes to see it or ears to hear it; and the internal consciousness is excluded because there are no avenues to the soul through which the impressions can be conveyed to it.

And of what use is a revelation to a man who can neither see nor hear it? Let the mode of speaking to such a man be whatever it may, whether by an audible voice or written characters, he can neither hear the one nor see the other, and therefore his understanding cannot be instructed by either.

It may, however, be contended, that the Eternal Spirit can make impressions upon the mind independently of those external mediums. Allowing this to be so, and we certainly shall not pretend to set limits to Almighty power, it will follow nevertheless, that we could have no intelligent idea concerning the character of those impressions, were it not for those figurative representations which are made to the mind respecting the existence and operation of this Spirit. How have we received ideas of Spirit? Manifestly from analogy. We cannot conceive any other possible way by which we could have ever come to any perception at all that there is such an agent as the Holy Spirit, or any Spirit at all.

That we receive our ideas of the existence and operation of the Spirit from analogy, is manifest from the figures used in the Holy Scriptures whenever they speak in reference to the subject. Thus it is compared to *wind*—to *fire*—to *water*—to *wine* and *milk*—to a *seal*—to a *witness*—all which symbols are taken from material agents, and are evidently used by the Spirit himself, in condescension to our weakness, to assist us in forming as correct a perception as possible of the nature and effects of the Holy Spirit. Now, these figures all being taken from material objects, and used to convey an idea to our minds of this eternal Spirit, the language is addressed to our understandings through the medium of our bodily senses. Thus we either *see*, *taste*, or *feel* the *wind*, the *fire*, the *water*, the *wine* and *milk*, and we know from our outward sense of seeing what a *seal* is, and judge of the character of a *witness* from what we see and hear of him.

By *consciousness* we inwardly *taste* or *feel* the operations of the Spirit of God, and we learn how these sensations were produced in the soul, for which we cannot account on the principles of reason, and whence they come, from the written word; and we form a perception of them from the analogy existing between those material and external symbols, of which we have before spoken, and the inward sensations produced on our minds by the direct operations of the eternal Spirit. It is therefore in this manner that we obtain an idea of the existence and operation of this Spirit; and without pretending to determine whether God does or not, communicate directly to the heart without the medium of our outward senses, it is most manifest that we form our perceptions of the nature and effect of this Spirit by means of external symbols.

Now these symbols we *know*, because we *see* them. And being told in the sacred Scriptures that they represent the agency of the Holy Spirit, we *believe* it, and hence rest our *faith* upon this declaration,



for all our information respecting the Spirit and its operations. So neither in this case can we dispense with the use of our bodily senses.

Why else is it that the sacred Scriptures, more than any other writings whatever, abound in metaphors? It is in condescension to our weakness. "If," says our Saviour, "I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things?" Had he assumed the language of immortality, his hearers could not have understood him. Much less if he had undertaken to explain those things which relate to the spiritual and invisible world, without a metaphor. Hence, that they might the more easily comprehend his meaning, he adopted the parabolical method of instruction. Even when discoursing with Nicodemus on the necessity and nature of the new birth, which involved the agency of the Holy Spirit, he resorts to the metaphor of the *wind*, in order to convey his meaning with the more facility:—"The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit."

So also in all the parables that he uttered—"and without a parable he spake not"—he addressed himself to the understandings of men, through the medium of their external senses. If he spoke of his kingdom, he compared to *heaven*—to *ten virgins*—to a *man seeking goodly pearls*—and to a *man travelling into a far country*:—his word is compared to *seed*, and he himself to a *sower*—and faith in his word to a *grain of mustard seed*. If he speaks of the future residence and rest of his people he compares it to a *mansion*, and the different degrees of glory to *many mansions*. All these figures of speech—and many more instances might be mentioned equally illustrative of our views—plainly indicate that all our ideas of spiritual and heavenly things are derived from analogy, and are communicated to the mind by means of material things, through the medium of the external senses.

Indeed, the words of our Saviour to Nicodemus confirm the entire view we have taken of this subject from the beginning. He says, "We speak that we do *know*, and testify that we have *seen*; but ye receive not our *witness*," and then adds the words before quoted, "If I have told you earthly things, and ye *believe* not," &c. Because he "came forth from the bosom of the Father," he was perfectly acquainted with spirit, and all the realities of the invisible world, and therefore could speak of the things which he *knew*, for he had *seen* and *heard* them; but to Nicodemus and others all these things were objects of *faith* when thus revealed to them by Him to whom they were perfectly familiar; they *knew* them not, but were called upon to *believe* them upon the testimony of Jesus Christ. They *knew* that he had spoken to them, and because he spoke in figurative language, taking the figure from objects with which they were well acquainted, they could understand his language, and *believe* in the truth of what he said.

Well, are these truths any the less certain, because they are presented to the mind by those symbols through this material vehicle? Certainly not. Indeed, as man is constituted, they are hereby rendered more certain, much more palpable and demonstrative than other.

wise they would be. With the utmost stretch of my capacity, I can form no idea either of my own spirit or of the eternal Spirit, only as it is presented to my mind from analogy, or from its effects. I see the works of nature; I ask who made them? My Bible answers, "By his Spirit he garnished the heavens, and all the host of them were made by the breath of his mouth." I ask where and what is this Spirit? My Bible tells me, "He rideth upon the wings of the wind, and maketh the clouds his chariot." How is my mind filled with the sublimest perceptions by these lofty metaphors! The *wind* I *hear* and *feel* when it rushes through the fields or sweeps over the plains, or whistles through the cities; and I *see* the *clouds* over my head, and both *see* and *hear* the chariot rolling over the pavements. By these means I get an idea, however faint and imperfect, of that eternal Spirit, which made the heavens and garnished them with all their beauty. I read the analogy in the clouds, and instinctively bow before his mighty power.

Thus delightfully do we perceive the harmony subsisting between the external and internal senses—between the body and mind—between faith and knowledge;—and by their mutual adaptation to promote the end of our existence, they tend to assist each other in conveying instruction to the understanding. By these means I see the connection between the visible and the invisible world, and the manner in which the mind puts forth its powers to grasp firm hold of those truths which relate to things past and future, or of those eternal realities which are revealed to me in the sacred Scriptures. These inform me that "God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." This truth, being supported by all that weight of evidence which authenticates the Holy Scriptures as the revealed will of God, my mind lays hold of by *faith*, and I prove that my faith is genuine by falling down before this eternal Spirit and worshipping him as the "Father of the spirits of all flesh."

SOLO DEI GLORIA.

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ART. 3.—THE PRESENT STATE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF  
THE PAPAL CHURCH.

BY S. W. COGGESHALL,  
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AMBITION is a quality inherent in mankind, and when they get the power into their hands they are very prone to abuse it, as the history of the world and even the church plainly shows, except prevented by very strong moral principle within, which is the case with but very few, or powerful checks from without, which latter, owing to the ignorance of mankind, exist in but few instances. This remark may serve to throw some light upon what is to follow.

It has been said, and with much truth, that every man is a pope in his own way, although but few have an opportunity to exhibit their popish spirit to any considerable extent. This remark may serve to lessen the surprise that we may feel while taking a view of the character of the pope of Rome. Consequently, as we are

informed by St. Paul, the mystery of iniquity, which finally grew into popery, began to work even in his own day, although it could not be fully revealed until that which then let or hindered, which was the Roman power, was taken out of the way ; which, however, was not till several centuries after.

The authority of the pope of Rome is founded upon the supposition that to Peter, of whom he is the pretended successor, was committed what is termed the power of the keys ; that Christ promised to build his church upon him ; and that he was the first bishop of Rome. But the power of the keys was given to the apostles in common, and not to Peter in particular ; and Christ was the rock upon which the church was to be built, according to many other Scriptures, and a fair grammatical construction of the passage in question ; and as for his being first bishop of Rome, it remains to be proved that he was ever so much as in that city, and even if both could be proved it is nothing to the point. They also pretend to an uninterrupted succession in the papal chair. But, as Father Wesley well remarks, the succession never was nor ever can be proved ; for several links are wanting in the chain ; three rival popes have ruled the church at once, and it has never been determined by the church which was the true one ; and beside this, a woman in disguise occupied the papal chair for a considerable time. This last fact has been disputed by modern historians, although it was never called in question for five centuries after the event.

The first bishops of Rome, like the other primitive bishops, were humble, pious, and zealous men, who never so much as dreamed of such a thing as pre-eminence among their brethren ; as, in those days of gospel purity, all the bishops possessed equal authority. It was not till after the days of the Emperor Constantine, when Christianity became the established religion of the empire, that any pretensions were made to pre-eminence by the bishop of Rome. At first these pretensions were very humble, but even then they were very fiercely and indignantly disputed by the other bishops, especially by those of Constantinople, who were always in a condition to make head against their rivals.

But notwithstanding the contempt with which the aspiring pretensions of the bishops of Rome were treated, yet, owing to their inflexible obstinacy and perseverance, the increase of ignorance and the decline of true religion, joined to the numerous dissensions of the clergy and people among themselves, and a variety of other circumstances which tended to favor them, their power and influence continued to increase, until it spread over the whole western church. But popery cannot be considered as fully established until the year 606, when Boniface III. engaged the usurper Phocas, who had waded to the imperial throne through the blood of his master, the Emperor Mauritius, to proclaim him universal bishop. This may be considered the commencement of the reign of the beast. Although the several pontiffs left no means untried to augment their power and authority from day to day, yet their progress was slow, as the several churches in different countries, with their bishops and clergy, were not easily brought under the yoke. The Greek or eastern church never would submit, and have maintained their indepen-



dence to this day. Many and bitter were the contests which arose between these two churches, and which were continued for successive centuries with great zeal, until Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453, and the Greek empire was so broken and the church so weakened by these infidels, that the Greeks excited the envy of the Latins no more, and the former either would or could not continue the contest any longer. The church of Milan, also, would not submit for a long time, and did not until forced by treachery and arms so to do. The Caldees of Scotland, among whom learning and religion flourished for several centuries, were not reduced until the twelfth century; and the Waldenses, although sorely persecuted and almost exterminated, were never brought under the yoke.

The papal power may be said to have arrived at its summit during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the popes not only acted as lords over God's heritage, but even put their feet upon the necks of kings; bound their princes in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron. This power suffered no sensible diminution, but flourished, notwithstanding the tumults of nations and the strifes of kings, until the time of Martin Luther, in 1517. At the commencement of this century, the court of Rome was in as flourishing a state as ever; and there was no appearance of disturbance or trouble from any quarter. Although the labors of Wickliffe of England, and John Huss and Jerome of Prague, had given the minions of Rome much trouble during their lives, and after their deaths continued to exert a very powerful and extensive influence, yet the pope, as the strong man armed, had kept his goods in comparative peace, and at this time the labors of these men were but little felt. But behold, while the pope was crying Peace, peace, and unconscious of coming wrath which should shake his spiritual empire to its foundation, a movement was made in Germany, which soon attracted the attention of all Europe. In 1517, Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, began to preach against the doctrine of indulgences, the abuse of which had now risen to a most enormous height, and could be borne no longer. He did not intend to leave the church, but only to reform some of her abuses. At first he was very modest in his demands, but his arguments and appeals meeting with nothing but abuse and contempt, and when at last Pope Leo X. published a bull against him, the bold and zealous reformer was roused to activity, and was led to carry on to greater perfection what he had so well begun; and being patronised by Frederic, the elector of Saxony, and finding the people ready for a reform, in despite of the bulls of the pope and the anathemas of the council of Trent, he succeeded in overthrowing popery in a considerable part of Germany; and by his coadjutors his doctrines were carried into Denmark and Sweden, in which countries Lutheranism has since been the established religion. He was a man of extensive learning, of great magnanimity, and of ardent piety—admirably adapted for a reformer; and well did the work that was appointed him.

Luther was soon followed by Zuinglius in Switzerland, who, soon losing his life by violence, was succeeded by Calvin the Genevan reformer, who, although differing from Zuinglius both in doctrine and

discipline, with surprising activity and zeal, soon brought to a considerable degree of perfection what his predecessor had begun. His doctrine soon spread through a considerable part of Switzerland, France, Holland, and the British Isles. In the latter country the people were ripe for a reform even before it was begun; and although Henry VIII. seems to have been a very conspicuous actor in this, yet the fact is, that he was rather a hinderance than a help. The work was rather done by the clergy—Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Latimer, Ridley, and Rogers, being the most useful in the good work. In Scotland the work was carried on by John Knox, in the reign of Mary, the famous queen of Scots. He had been taught in the school of Geneva, and adopted both the doctrine and discipline of the Genevan reformer, so that the Kirk of Scotland has since remained Calvinistic in doctrine and Presbyterian in government. In Ireland the work was carried on by the godly labors of Dr. George Brown, archbishop of Dublin. But the work was not of so general extent in this island, the greater part of the people yet remaining Papists. In Poland, Prussia, Austria, Hungary, and Spain, the work was very partial, and in some of these countries, especially the latter, was soon stopped by the Inquisition. In Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, the work scarcely began; and in Portugal not at all.

This work of reform, as I have briefly sketched it, went on with great rapidity; the progress of the truth—of the principles of civil and religious liberty, was almost inconceivable. The most that was done then, was done during the lives of the reformers who first began the work, or of their immediate successors. Light burst forth all at once, like the rising of the sun; and kingdoms were shaken as by a general earthquake. But we are not to suppose that all who embraced the principles of the Reformation were truly converted to God. This was not the case. Multitudes who embraced Protestantism were no better after than before. This was as might have been expected. Thousands now who are called Protestants are such in external profession merely. And so it was then. But the work was begun; a light was then kindled, which we trust will never be extinguished; and although it has not since made such progress as we could have wished, yet a most deadly blow was given to the beast, of which he has never recovered, but which continues to grow worse and worse, and which will soon, as we shall presently show, end in his complete destruction.

There are two circumstances in the history of the popes which I think worthy of particular notice in this place. The first is, their ambition, avarice, cruelty, and most insufferable arrogance. For these things the papacy well deserves the denomination given it by St. Paul, "the man of sin." Their ambition was such, that after having brought the greater part of the whole western church under their yoke, they must proceed to reduce civil rulers with their entire people to the same ignoble vassalage. To their ambition, both temporal and spiritual, there were no bounds. After gorging whole empires, they were incessantly grasping and panting for more. Their avarice was such that they had no hesitation in involving whole nations in the direst calamities of war and bloodshed, if it would but help fill their coffers. The crusades, which

filled Europe and all the west of Asia with the greatest suffering, for two centuries, draining them of both wealth and population, although originally begun with another design, yet were afterward encouraged by the popes for this very purpose. Their cruelties for the purpose of sustaining their ungodly pretensions exceed all the bounds of credibility. As illustrative of this, we may simply mention the destruction of three millions of pious Waldenses, and the thousands slain and tortured by the Inquisition in the several popish countries. And as for their arrogance, especially of those professing to be Christ's vicars on earth, and the very representatives of the great Head of the church, it exceeds all bounds. History nowhere exhibits such cases. Their strifes and contentions with the bishops of the church and the several kings and princes of the western world, set this part of their character in a very striking light; and although they often met with naught but contempt and derision for this, yet they always most obstinately adhered to their purposes, and insisted upon the acknowledgments of their usurped authority.

The second of these circumstances, and which I believe has a very intimate relation to the first, is the very short reigns of most of the popes. The reigns of some of them amounted to but a few months; and others but to a very few years, although I do not know but one who came to his end by violent means, and that was Clement XVI., who suppressed the order of the Jesuits in 1773, and was supposed to have been poisoned by them. For instance, in the tenth century, there were twenty-two popes, while there were but seven archbishops of Canterbury in the same length of time. This appears to have been an interposition of Almighty God in mercy to the church and the world; for if these men had been permitted to live longer, to mature their schemes of aggrandizement, and to carry them into execution, it might have been much worse for a wretched world than it was. And that this supposition is perfectly correct, I am more inclined to believe from the fact, that since the Papal power has been so reduced as to be incapable of doing much mischief, the lives of the popes have been proportionably longer; for in the last century there were but nine popes, and eight archbishops of Canterbury.

I now come to the subject in hand—the present state of the Papal Church in Europe. This may be disposed of in few words.

Popery has never been able to regain any of those countries it lost at the time of the Reformation, by the permanent establishment of Protestantism, although it has left no means untried to effect its purpose. Open wars, secret plots and conspiracies, bloody massacres, and all the various arts of proselytism, from the sly insinuation of the Jesuits to the dragooning of French Protestants by Louis XIV., have all been resorted to, but never with complete success. Wherever the truth obtained firm footing at the first, it has resolutely maintained it, so that although Protestantism has not proportionably advanced, popery has visibly declined. Its place has been supplanted in most cases by infidelity, although not the infidelity of the last century, but an infidelity which may be approached by Christianity, and reasoned with and persuaded to embrace the truth. In other cases an almost total indifference to all religions



has taken place. But this is a state in which no people can remain for any length of time. So that we are now cheered at seeing a great part of Europe already, or fast becoming, perfectly accessible to Protestant truth.

In the British empire, Protestantism is established by law. England, which once saw the almost total extermination of the Papists, has of late years, however, seen a considerable increase of them. This, however, is partly owing to certain local and temporary causes; and, in the opinion of intelligent men, affords not much ground for alarm. The Jesuits have a college at Stonyhurst in Lancashire, and much of the surrounding population is under their influence, especially the town of Preston. It is said that they amount to about six hundred thousand, reckoning their whole population, among whom are a few of the English nobility. Their chapels have prodigiously multiplied of late years, but their converts not so rapidly. The vast increase of the Methodists and dissenters, together with the increase of evangelical piety in the established Church, oppose insuperable barriers to their progress. In Scotland they have made most strenuous exertions to spread their tenets, especially in Glasgow, but with little success. As in this country, a great part of their members are the poor emigrant Irish. "A Scotchman," says Rowland Hill, "is the very antipodes of the pope, so that his minions cannot make much head against the descendants of the old Covenanters and disciples of Knox."

They are the most numerous in the Highlands, many parts of which, partly owing perhaps to their adherence to the Stuart family, have never renounced the popish faith. But no danger is to be apprehended from such a quarter, especially as the last of the Stuarts is now gone. Their exertions in Glasgow gave rise to the publishment of McGavin's Protestant, which was continued for four years with great success; and which, after having passed through several editions in that country, has now been republished in this. In Ireland, three-fourths of whose inhabitants are Papists, popery is said to be visibly on the decline. The Irish have always been ardently attached to the see of Rome; and their shocking ignorance and degradation have been partly the cause and partly the effect of this. The Protestants are the most numerous in the north, and the Papists in the south. The Presbyterians, whose ancestors were from Scotland, are mostly from the north. The Methodists, who amount to about twenty-six thousand, are found in different parts, especially in the north and east. The church establishment has met with much trouble of late, owing to the refusal of the people to pay their tithes, and the disturbances that have arisen in consequence. The severity of the ancient laws against the Papists has been much mitigated of late years in this empire; but to little purpose. The more you grant them, the more you may. Give them an inch, and they will take an ell. Many of the ancient laws of the realm may, to us, look very severe. But to those who are better acquainted with this subject, they wear a different aspect. The fact is, that from the time that Protestantism was established in England till all hope was lost, the Papists were incessantly engaged in plotting its downfall, and these rigorous laws were necessary to keep them in check. Their incessant clamors at the

present time, with O'Connell at their head, are but for the purpose of disturbing, and, if possible, overthrowing the present government, and re-establishing popery. They already enjoy as many rights as other dissenters ; and why not be as quiet ?

In Sweden, Denmark, and several of the German states, Lutheranism is the established religion. In the two former the triumph over popery was more complete than in the latter, in several parts of which popery still exists. In Holland, and in several of the Swiss cantons, the reformed is the established religion ; although in the former country it exists in far greater purity than in the latter, where, especially in Geneva, it has degenerated into Socinianism of the worst kind. There are yet many Papists in Holland, but they are merely tolerated by the government, and make no conspicuous figure. Ten of the Swiss cantons are under popish sway ; six others are about equally divided between them and the Protestants, and the other six belong wholly to the Protestants, of which Bern is the most flourishing.

In Prussia, Lutheranism is the established religion, the king being of that persuasion, a pious man, and a promoter of godliness ; taking a deep interest in the cause of religion both at home and abroad. Here popery is on the wane. The king has lately suppressed a very great number of the monasteries. This augurs well for the downfall of popery ; for the monastic order, from the time of their rise in the early ages, have been liberally patronised by the popes, and of course have added greatly to the strength and stability of the hierarchy. Indeed, they have been one of the chief pillars in this corrupt spiritual edifice ; and therefore with their decline, we look for the decline of the whole church, or indeed a great modification of her character ; and such is the nature of Papacy, that whatever modifies, also weakens.

In Poland, although there are many Jews, some members of the Greek church, and many Protestants, yet popery is quite formidable, being in a more flourishing state than in many other parts of Europe. But such have been the political changes in this very unhappy country, and such is its peculiar situation, that although we are all well acquainted with its political condition, which has so excited the deep commiseration of the friends of liberty and humanity both in Europe and America, yet but little is known in the Protestant world respecting its religious state. But as the Polish refugees in this country, who have fled from the tyranny of the Russian autocrat, are papists, we conclude that in that part, at least, which belongs to Russia, popery was predominant, but is now supplanted by the Greek Church, by the authority of the emperor.

In France popery has received its death wound. Here, where the Protestants have met with the most severe and cruel treatment by the church of Rome, have the just judgments of God visited her in the most signal and triumphant manner. Here, where so much pains have been taken to give it permanence and stability, it is now in its death struggles, and in all probability will soon expire. The Protestants commenced this work at the time of the Reformation, and carried it on with great zeal and success, till they were farther prevented by the terrible persecutions they experienced after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. But when they were

removed, the providence of God permitted the work to be carried on by persons of a very opposite character—the disciples of Voltaire and D'Alembert. But these did their work in a strange way. They passed over the church like a tornado over a fruitful field. Ancient customs, usages, and superstitions—the reverence of ages, received no quarter from them. Their movements, combined with politics, soon produced the French Revolution, which resulted in the almost total prostration of the Papal church. Under the reign of Bonaparte, the church saw more prosperous days; but even this prosperity was attended by the most humiliating circumstances, as the usurper, not able to bear a rival of any kind, reduced the authority of the pope in his dominions to a mere shadow, and made himself, in fact, the head of the church. But here it did not end: he obliged the pope to come to Paris, and crown him emperor in the presence of the multitude, for which, however, his humbled holiness most heartily repented and gave himself a severe flagellation: but to little purpose in the eyes of Europe, who were spectators of this uncommon event. But here his troubles did not end; for upon a quarrel arising between him and the emperor, (and, by the way, this is no strange thing in the lives of the popes,) a French army was marched into Italy, and he was made a prisoner of war, a circumstance of the most afflictive and humiliating kind. After the reaccession of the Bourbons to the throne, by the assistance of the allied powers of Europe, popery was again established. But it was now too late to heal its deadly wounds—its dissolution was fast drawing near. In the Revolution of July, 1830, it was again prostrated and put upon the same footing with Protestantism, both being tolerated by the government upon equal terms. And now such is the situation of France, that if the Protestants of England and the United States join their labors with those of the few French Protestants, we may soon look for the total extinction of the Papal power and influence in that nation.

In Spain, the world has witnessed a most astonishing change in the affairs of the papal church—a change that was quite unlooked for, even by the most sanguine friends of the Reformation. This country has been one of the strongholds of popery—a country ruled by priests, and overrun by friars. Here, owing to the uncontrolled sway of the Inquisition, that abominable scourge of mankind, Protestantism has never been able to obtain a firm footing. It was introduced at the time of the Reformation; but never being recognised by the government, and the inquisitors being left unchecked, it never accomplished any thing toward the overthrow of popery, or the establishment of a purer religion. But the work has been done, so far as the partial overthrow of popery is concerned, in quite another way. Without doubt the progress of liberal principles in Europe, and a knowledge, or rather complete conviction, that the friars and the Inquisition have ruined the nation, have gone far to open the eyes of the Spaniards to the truth; and infidelity, as in France, has also contributed its quota. But the late war between the queen of Ferdinand, who is the lawful successor to the throne, and his brother Don Carlos, who has attempted to usurp the government, has done the work of a century in humbling the court of Rome. The priests and friars, in order to strengthen the cause of



the church, have associated themselves with the usurper, and have proved his most violent partisans. But, instead of strengthening the church, it has brought it to the very brink of dissolution. Owing to this interference and rebellion of the priests and friars, the queen's government has been provoked to suppress the monasteries, and thus to annihilate the monastic order at a blow. It was thought, or rather feared, that this would so excessively exasperate the ignorant and superstitious multitude, as to lead to disturbances; but, to the astonishment of many, it was found upon experiment, that the contemptible and lazy monks had so wholly lost the confidence and veneration of the people, that their humiliation was a matter of great rejoicing with them; and in one place, after the order for the suppression of the monasteries had gone out, before the monks could vacate their premises, the people fell upon and robbed their gardens, and even beat them with clubs. Even the regular clergy look upon the monks as a pack of contemptible and lazy drones, who the sooner they are out of the way the better. Mr. Rule, the Wesleyan missionary at Gibraltar, has lately made a journey through a part of the kingdom, in order to collect information respecting the state of religion among the people. He represents them as ripe for the overthrow of popery; and that they will soon be accessible to the labors of Protestant missionaries. He also states, upon the authority of a citizen of Seville, that of the ninety thousand inhabitants of that city, seventy thousand do not attend mass. He also had an interview with a Spanish bishop, who had lately completed and published a new version of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue for general distribution, and who had so far divested himself of popish prejudices, that he even went so far as to propose the union of the Spanish with the English Church; and who deeply felt that there must be a union of the friends of religion to make head against the rapid advances of infidelity. "How manifold are thy judgments, O Lord, and thy ways past finding out."

The late revolution in Portugal has also been disastrous to the cause of the Papal Church in that country. Here popery has reigned and flourished as in Spain. But in the late war between Don Miguel the usurper, and his brother Don Pedro, in favor of his daughter Donna Maria, the rightful heiress to the throne, the church party, which always, as a matter of course, sides with tyranny, took up the cause of the usurper; and as a consequence, when Donna Maria became triumphant, the church was humbled. Many of the bishops were ejected from their sees, and others put in their places, without so much as consulting his holiness, and the monasteries, as in Spain, were suppressed, and the property confiscated to the crown. The monks, in order to save them from absolute want, are allowed a small pension from the government, and the clergy are now no longer distinguished from the other citizens, except by their Suwarrow boots. This, for such a country as Portugal, may be considered no small work; and it also argues ill for the authority and influence of the pope, that his spiritual thunder upon this audacious invasion of his ancient rights, produces no effect.

In Italy itself, the very seat of the beast, the spirit of revolution

and reform is so rife, that the pope is wholly indebted to the Austrian bayonets for his seat in the chair of St. Peter. Immediately after the election of the present pontiff, which was brought about by the intrigues and superior influence of Austria in the college of cardinals, a revolution broke out in Italy, which would have deposed the pope, and wrought very important changes in both church and state, and which came near being consummated without bloodshed or serious disturbance. But in this important juncture, the pope called in the assistance of Austria, which was immediately granted; and the Italian patriots were obliged to succumb to superior numbers. If this revolution had been perfected, the final dissolution of the Papal power in Europe, would have been vastly accelerated. But the spirit of reform is not extinguished, it is merely slumbering, or rather waiting for an opportunity of doing its glorious work.

Austria is now the only temporal support of the Papal power in Europe. Under the ministry of the most tyrannical Prince Metternich, she continues her support to the court of Rome. This Prince Metternich is one of the greatest enemies of mankind now living; a man who has done more for the support of despotic principles, and to enslave the millions of Europe than any other man. And his influence is not only exerted in the Austrian dominion, but almost throughout Europe. And as one instance of many of his most villanous deeds, I may mention his having even supplied the Turks with ships in their war against the Greeks, lest the achievement of the independence of this people should further the progress of free and liberal principles in his own neighborhood. And now if a revolution should take place in Austria, which is not at all improbable upon the death of Metternich, or some such circumstance, the Roman pontiff has lost his last prop, and his temporal power must come to an end at once, which would immediately pave the way also for the extinction of his spiritual power.

It will be recollected that Russia belongs to the Greek Church, by whom the ancient Sclavonians and other barbarous nations from whom the Russians are descended, first received the gospel. They have consequently adhered to that church until now, never having had any disposition to change this relation for that of the Latin Church. The Russian Church, however, is independent of the other branches of the Greek Church, the authority of even the Patriarch of Constantinople not even amounting to a shadow in the dominions of the Czar. Since the days of Peter the Great, before whose time the Russians were but semi-barbarians, the Russian power has become truly formidable to the rest of Europe, and not only to Europe, but even to Asia. Possessing a territory which includes one ninth of the whole world—all the north of Europe and Asia, and perfectly unconquerable by the armies of the south, as the misfortunes of Bonaparte amply testify; and comprising a population of fifty millions, this mighty empire with its despotic head, frowns down upon the rest of Europe with a most fearful aspect. And although the political principles of Russia are so like those of Austria, yet, as their religion is so very unlike, we expect that the prosperity of Russia will be no advantage to Rome.

What is said of the present state of the Papal Church in Europe,

may with equal propriety be said of it in other parts of the world. By the late revolution in Mexico, Protestantism was tolerated, which is something altogether opposed to the peculiar genius of popery,—and, consequently, what is given to Protestantism is so much taken from that. And although by the union of the usurper Santa Anna with the priests and church party a dark cloud has come over the prospects of liberal principles in Mexico, yet the present movements in Texas, and also the manifestation of the same spirit in some other parts of the republic, threaten a counter revolution, which will undo more than Santa Anna's party have been able to do. For the war which has begun in Texas may yet be carried to the very walls of Mexico; and then wo to an intolerant and licentious priesthood. In all the South American states the spirit of revolution, although not so enlightened as we could wish, has produced much the same effects, especially in Brazil, which is much the most considerable government on that continent. And although the morals of the people have not improved, yet their decreasing regard for the superstitions in which they were educated is opening the way for the establishment of Protestant missions, of which our own church is now taking the advantage. And be assured, that if Methodism once gets firmly established upon those shores, the reign of error is soon at an end, and the glory of God will rise upon the people.

In India popery is on the decline, as in other places. Here the papists once had very flourishing settlements and missions. The Portuguese settlement at Goa was truly formidable. It even had an inquisition, which was not altogether idle. But now its strength is wasted, and its glory is departed. In Ceylon, the Portuguese were also successful, but of late their labors have not been prosecuted with that zeal and success as formerly; and the Wesleyan missionaries are now presenting a most formidable barrier to their farther progress. Many of the Wesleyans preach in the Portuguese language, and in one instance of which we have heard, a whole church of Papists forsook their own communion for the fellowship of the missionaries, taking the church property with them. China was once the scene of very successful missionary operations. But the wicked and contemptible arts of the Jesuits, who had the charge of this mission, not only excited the indignation and excessive displeasure of many of their own communion, but without doubt proved their own overthrow. For notwithstanding they found access even to the foot of the golden throne, and were the special favorites of the emperor, yet they were afterward banished from the empire, and have never since obtained a footing therein. Indeed, the duplicity, the corruption, the insufferable arrogance, and the incessant political intermeddlings of this fraternity, render them the scorn, the contempt, and the dread of the people wherever they are known. In Japan they had also met with very considerable success, but certain letters being intercepted which revealed a conspiracy against the government, the missionaries with all their converts were immediately obliged to renounce their religion or be exterminated. This edict of the king was carried into effect with the most unrelenting severity. Even the very appearance of Christianity was annihilated. And such is the watchfulness of this



excessively jealous government, that they will not even have tradings with any Christian nation except a few Dutch from Batavia, who are permitted to have a factory, or rather prison, in one of their ports, but who are not even permitted to have a Bible on board their ships. But such is their contemptible love of gain that they will even submit to these humiliating conditions, rather than lose the profits of the trade. This is one of the most glaring instances of the immense injury done to Christianity by the Jesuits, in the eyes of the heathen, who judge of the nature of religion wholly by the conduct of its professors.

In these United States Papists have increased prodigiously of late years, and have given cause for serious alarm to all the friends of civil and of religious liberty. They have erected colleges, seminaries, and nunneries for the education of Protestant youth, while they have surprisingly neglected their own. This increase has been promoted principally by means of emigration, mostly from Ireland, which of late years has been very great indeed, amounting to about thirty-seven per cent. of our whole increase. This rapid and somewhat systematic increase by immigration, the erection of literary institutions for the education of Protestant youth, their extraordinary zeal in using the various arts of proselyting,—together with their boastings of success, and the free expression of their hopes with regard to the future, have given occasion to suppose that they designed the final subjugation of this land of the pilgrims to the Romish yoke. The suppositions were abundantly confirmed when it was found that a society called the St. Leopold Foundation was in existence in Vienna, which had received the apostolic benediction of the pope, the imperial sanction of the Emperor of Austria, and was under the special patronage of that most detestable of all modern tyrants, Prince Metternich. From numerous circumstances connected with the formation and movements of this society, it was well ascertained, that there existed a regular and well-laid conspiracy against the liberties of these United States, and which was fast ripening for execution. This society has for its object the propagation of the popish religion in this country, and for this purpose has remitted large sums of money, which have been expended for this purpose, and which remittances have also been accompanied with a great number of priests, the most of whom are Jesuits, a class of men who, on account of their political intrigues, their constant intermeddling in the affairs of government, and the extreme laxity of their morals, were suppressed in several popish countries in Europe the last century, but whose society was afterward revived by the pope, as being indispensable to the support of his waning power.

There are two important facts well worthy of observation in this matter. The first is, this republican country has been the grand source from which have emanated those liberal principles which have produced those several revolutions and various political movements which have proved such a source of affliction to the legitimate governments of Europe. Now the question arises, how shall they quench this light which shines into the dark places of their despotic dominions? To do it by force of arms is out of the question—is absolutely impossible. An ocean of three thou-

sand miles rolls between us, and, more than that, the well-known valor and prowess of our people render it hopeless for them to attempt any such things. But by means of the Catholic Church, the work may possibly be accomplished. Popery has always lent its aid in the establishment and support of monarchy, and has generally been supported in return. Now if by any means popery can become the prominent religion in this country, or even become sufficiently powerful to constitute the balance of power, it may very easily overthrow our present government, and substitute in its stead one more to its liking. And we well know what that would be. And we are farther to remember, that the peculiar structure of a republican form of government affords them admirable facilities for this.

The second fact is, that as popery is everywhere on the wane in Europe, its friends and abettors are naturally looking round for a place in which it may obtain a firm footing, and be perpetuated through succeeding generations—a place of secure retreat from the fierce and ruthless attacks made upon it in the Old World. This country appears to afford this desired retreat; and the vast tide of emigration flowing in from popish countries, together with the protection that our government affords all religions, affords them admirable facilities for furthering their work. And it is a sober fact, that their hopes have been greatly excited by the prospect of success.

But there is one circumstance which has done them great injury, if it does not indeed ultimately defeat all their efforts to establish themselves among us; and that is, being flushed with unlooked for success, they began to suppose the victory already achieved, and raised the shout of triumph. In an instant, the watchmen of Zion gave the alarm, and the whole nation waked up to a sense of its danger. The controversies against the priests carried on by Dr. Beecher, when in Boston, by Dr. Brownlee of New-York, and by Mr. Breckenridge; the publication of Miss Reed's little book, and the disclosures of Maria Monk, together with the publication of the Protestant Vindicator, and the Downfall of Babylon, in New-York, and Zion's Herald in Boston;\* and indeed of numerous other

\* We by no means agree with the writer either as respects the great cause of alarm to the liberties of our country, from the inroads of popery; or the utility of the means used to check its progress. We allow, indeed, that popery, as such, is inimical to civil liberty; and that therefore it is the duty of all to guard against its encroachments, more especially in our country; but we cannot perceive—and we have not been unmindful of events—the imminent danger arising from such a small minority as the Papists form in this republic, to the stability of our government. We apprehend the chief danger lies in that “sin which is a disgrace to any people,” in that spirit of insubordination which is so rife in the community, and in that wild democracy which levels all distinctions in society, and battens itself in slandering public characters, in defying the power of magistrates, and in openly contemning the majesty of the laws—and which evinces its recklessness in fomenting mobs, and rallying around “King Lynch;” the most fearful tyrant that ever reared its maddened head in our beloved republic. Let all enlightened men do what they can to check these alarming evils—and if papacy be leagued with them, let it share their fate—and, by the blessing of God on their labor, we are safe.

papers in the country, have put the people on their guard against this insidious foe. Indeed, such has been the extraordinary effect produced by these publications—by the flood of light that has been cast upon this subject, that many believe that the crisis has already taken a favorable turn, and that our danger is past. We indeed hope that this is the case; but whether it is or not, we firmly believe that the danger may easily be averted by the activity and watchfulness of the people. Let us but keep a watchful eye upon this foe, remembering that the experiment of a republican form of government among us is yet to be completed, and we are safe.

From all this it appears that the Papal Church is on the wane—that it is in the very last stages of decline, and that its dissolution fast draweth near. Its case is the most deplorable imaginable. The prophecy is now fulfilling, that the kings and princes of the earth, who formerly gave their power and authority to the whore of Babylon, shall now, becoming incensed against her, eat her flesh, as fire. Almost every government in Europe is now engaged to crush the Church of Rome. Since the French revolution, whose partisans learned the principles of political liberty from our revolutionists,

And then as to the means used to shake and overwhelm popery, we have still greater doubts. We could, indeed, had we leisure, write a volume, to show our dissent, and the grounds of it, from resorting to such measures as Miss Reed's narrative and Maria Monk's Disclosures, to overturn popery. We have no faith in them, true or false, as instruments of righteousness. What! Is the truth of God to be vindicated by resorting to such doubtful authorities? We venture to say that no Christian denomination under heaven could stand the test of such an ordeal. Let a man, prejudiced against any sect, pick up and publish insulated facts which have occurred in that sect, and make them the touchstone of their orthodoxy or innocence, and we venture to affirm that none would escape unscathed. Of Maria Monk's Disclosures we have no good opinion, nor do we believe the Protestant Vindicator a judicious weapon to fight the "man of sin" with. There is, in our judgment, too much of the "wrath of man" in all their publications, to "work the righteousness of God."

Let us, therefore, do by the Roman Catholics as we do by all others whom we believe to be in error and sin: try to convert them to the knowledge of the truth, by the "armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left," and by our spirit and conduct convince them that we are actuated solely by a love to their souls. This, if even we should not succeed in our wishes for their salvation, will at least ensure the blessing of God upon our own souls.

Besides, if popery be doomed to that sudden destruction predicted by the writer in his closing remarks—we cannot but hope it is the case,—there cannot be much danger of its permanent establishment in our country, nor indeed in any other. If Protestants will do their duty, live wholly to God's glory, and devote their means and energies to the conversion of the world, in the true spirit of the primitive Christians, we shall soon witness that mighty spread of the gospel which will consume the errors of popery, and all other abominations which make desolate.

Though we thus record our dissent from this item in the above essay, it nevertheless contains valuable information of a general character, as well as many pungent remarks upon the objectionable features of Roman Catholicism.

EDITOR.



popery has gone down with the most fearful celerity ; and all the arts and ingenuity of its friends and abettors are wholly unavailing to support their dying cause. More has been done within a few years since, than could have been anticipated by the most sanguine friend of the Reformation. The beast now no longer presents that imposing and most formidable front as formerly, neither exhibits those menacing attitudes when attacked and assailed by enemies. No ; the spiritual thunder of the pope has almost wholly spent its force. It no longer alarms the potentates of Europe, nor makes the nations tremble. The old man who now fills the chair of St. Peter has been obliged to take several important lessons in the virtue of modesty, and to good purpose.

We now come to speak of the future prospects of the church. These are dark beyond description. Every thing with regard to her has the most gloomy appearance, and down she must go ; and all her friends on earth and friends beneath will not be able to sustain her. There are several circumstances which will tend to accelerate her downfall with most fearful rapidity, and from the powerful action of which nothing can possibly save her.

One is, her constant interference with the civil affairs of nations. For centuries the Roman pontiffs have claimed jurisdiction over all temporal rulers, and insisted that they held their kingdoms as their vassals, and not from mere inherent or hereditary right. This is now a most unfortunate circumstance for her, especially as no succeeding popes have made any animadversions upon their predecessors as though they had been mistaken in this matter, nor have given up a single pretension of this kind. The princes of Europe will bear in mind the most insufferable arrogance of the pope when he obliged Henry, emperor of Germany, to travel to Rome in the depth of winter, and to stand three days barefooted at his palace gate before he would grant him admission ; and to kiss his big toe before he would grant him absolution, for having dared to say that his kingdom was his own, and that he would rule it as he pleased, despite of his holiness. They will remember his quarrel with John, king of England, respecting the nomination to the archbishopric of Canterbury, which was claimed by the pope and denied by John, and which, after several years' contention, resulted in the most humiliating degradation of the latter. They will also remember the numerous popish plots against the English government, after the establishment of Protestantism in that nation, especially the gunpowder plot, so called, and the numerous conspiracies against the life and government of Queen Elizabeth. All these things will be borne in mind, and will most powerfully tend to the total subversion of the papal power.

The second of these circumstances is, the persecuting spirit of this church. Not but what others have also persecuted ; but her persecuting spirit has been of a pre-eminent character. Scores and hundreds have not satisfied her bloodthirsty spirit ; thousands and even millions have been sacrificed to her cruelty. The destruction of the three million Waldenses, and the unparalleled sufferings connected with the slaughter, concerning which Milton has exclaimed—

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints,  
Whose bones lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold ;"

all this will be remembered against her by the nations of Europe. The massacre of the French Protestants, and the unheard of cruelties of the Inquisition, especially in Spain, which nation has been partly depopulated by it, will all be treasured up against her. This must be the case, for these deeds have never been execrated or denounced by her as incompatible with the spirit of our holy religion. To be sure, Protestant communities have persecuted, but they learned it in the church of Rome ; they brought it away with them, and it is one of the last rags of popery that they have been inclined to throw away.

A third circumstance is, the character of the monastic orders,—ignorant, lazy, licentious, corrupt, and shockingly avaricious in grasping for the wealth of others, they are now looked upon with the greatest contempt and detestation, and as worse than burdensome upon the community, yea, as a stinking nuisance. And as the monastic orders have been greatly patronised by the popes, and have been their principal support, they will be considered as a part and parcel of the Papal Church ; and as they go down, the church must inevitably share their fate, and both be destroyed together.

The fourth and principal circumstance is, the pretensions of this church to infallibility, which also utterly precludes the possibility of her reformation. Now this pretension she has never given up, and probably never will. The consequence is, that she hereby declares that what she once was she now is, and always designs to be. She hereby declares that all her past doings are right, and of course, that if she had the power, she would do them again. This will always cause her to be regarded with a jealous eye. It also precludes the possibility of a reformation. This, if it could be brought about, might save her from final dissolution. But her very constitution does not admit of any cure for her diseases—she must inevitably die of them. I have heard some persons talk of a reform in the Church of Rome. I should as soon think of a reform in hell. Some think that a partial reform has already taken place ; but this is a great mistake. The fact is, that the Church of Rome is now worse than she ever was ; for with all the superior light afforded by the Reformation for more than three centuries, she has not changed a single doctrine or practice. Her present members consequently sin against greater light, and are therefore greater sinners, than their fathers.

But the word of prophecy of which we now come to speak will set this matter in a clear light, and show us that we are not to look for the reform of the Church of Rome, but for her destruction. This we shall do in few words. The prophet Daniel describes the Church of Rome as a little horn, before whom three other horns, (that is, states or kingdoms, which were those of Ravenna and Lombardy,) were plucked up by the roots ; and as having the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and a back more stout than his fellows ; and as having made war with the saints, and prevailed against them : and then adds, "until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High ; and

the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." He farther proceeds in his description of the character of the little horn, thus: "And he shall speak great words against the Most High; and shall wear out the saints of the Most High; and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time." And then he says: "But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion to consume and to destroy it unto the *end*." And concerning the period of its destruction as specified by the prophet, the time, times, and the dividing of a time, amount to one thousand two hundred and sixty years, which added to the year six hundred and six, in which Boniface III. was proclaimed œcumenical or universal bishop, and which may be put down as the commencement of this power, will bring it to the year eighteen hundred and sixty-six, which is but thirty years to come. And we presume from what the signs of the times most evidently indicate, that the power of the bishops of Rome will come to an end by that time. We do not suppose that all Papists will be converted by that time, for that may be the work of more years; but that both the temporal and superior spiritual power of the pontiff will be broken; and the conversion of his subjects may take place with the conversion of the rest of the world. St. John the Revelator, in his computation, agrees with Daniel, and after having described the rise, and progress, and special character of the Roman hierarchy, devotes the whole eighteenth chapter to an account of its fall and final dissolution, which he represents as being very violent and sudden, thus: "And a mighty angel took up a stone, like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be no more at all." Then shall the cry of the mighty angel be heard, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen; and the voice of the great multitude in heaven, saying, "Alleluia, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

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#### ART. IV.—PAUL AT ATHENS.

IN the course of his labors among the Gentiles, Paul arrived at Athens from Berea, a city of Macedonia, whence he had been driven by the inveterate malice of the Jews. Having reached this celebrated city, his attention was soon directed, not to its schools, but to its temples, its statues, its altars; not so much to admire the beauty of the architecture, or the skill of the sculptor, as to mourn over the dark system of idolatry of which they formed so conspicuous and important a feature. We should do injustice to the distinguished reputation of Paul as a man of classical taste and refinement if we were to conclude from this circumstance that he was insensible to the claims of philosophy and literature; or unmoved by the works of art with which he was surrounded. But a paramount object engrossed all the powers of his mind, as well as his deepest sympathies, before which even the unrivalled schools of Athens, and the most splendid productions of human art, dwindled into comparative insignificance. The inexpres-



sible solicitude which he felt for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls—a solicitude which would have led him, as in the case of the Thessalonians, “to have imparted unto them, not the gospel of God only, but also his own soul,”—was powerfully awakened in his pious bosom, and absorbed all thoughts leading to a gratification of an ordinary curiosity, when he “saw the city” to which he had undoubtedly been directed by the providence of God, “wholly given to idolatry.”

As was his custom, he first directed his attention to his own countrymen the Jews, who, it appears, had built a synagogue in this proud city; and then to the “devout persons,” Greeks and others, who, having renounced idolatry, had embraced the Jewish religion. In addition to his stated labors in the synagogue, every day was employed by him in personal discussion “in the market with them that met with him.”

Among others it appears he “encountered certain philosophers of the Epicureans and the Stoics.” It is not at all likely that Paul, though a Jew, was ignorant of the philosophy of either of the “Attic schools:” these schools, at the time Paul was at Athens, still maintaining, in the fallen condition of the city, “their superior reputation.”\* Adhering, however, to his determination of “knowing nothing among them save Jesus Christ, and him crucified,” he preached in the market to all whom he met, philosophers as well as common people, “Jesus and the resurrection.” His “speech and his preaching was not with enticing words of man’s wisdom; but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.” He did not depend upon those rules of elocution taught in the schools of rhetoric in Athens, by which her orators attained such skill and celebrity in this renowned art; but he earnestly sought, and for success relied upon, that divine influence which is “quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart.” The Spirit of God had fully taught him that the heathen could not be “turned from idols to serve the living God” by mere “excellence of speech,” even though a Demosthenes himself spoke, but by preaching “Christ crucified.” “Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.”

Coming in contact with these philosophers, and by the novelty of his doctrines exciting their curiosity—a curiosity which was not wholly unmingled with contempt—he was favored with an opportunity, before probably a large assembly of Athenians on Mars-hill, of testifying against idolatry, and enforcing the claims of Christianity.

Whether Paul was brought before the court of the Areopagus as a criminal, or whether he merely occupied Mars-hill as “a convenient place where those who were disposed might hear what his doctrine was, is a matter about which there exists difference of opinion.” We incline to that of Mr. Wesley, that “it does not appear he was carried thither as a criminal.” Both at Philippi and at Jerusalem, when he was actually taken into custody, there is evidence sufficient of judicial proceedings. But the narrative in this case shows no marks of legal form. In the instance of Socrates’ trial, a bill of

\* Gibbon.

indictment was first found—regular charges were preferred by his accusers, and every opportunity allowed, at least so far as related to technical forms, for a full defence. But not so here; though, if Paul were tried, it was on a similar charge. Not only was there a want of form in the first steps taken in this case; the conclusion of it was equally irregular. It seems that the moment allusion was made to the resurrection of the body, the assembly was abruptly interrupted by the very persons who had called it together, a mode of procedure which does not comport in any respect with a court so celebrated for its impartial regard to justice as was the Areopagus. Even allowing that this court, as was the case, had greatly degenerated from its ancient purity, and rigid regard to justice, it certainly would show some respect to the common forms of a legal trial, especially as it is supposed to have had cognizance at this time of an offence deemed capital by the Athenian laws. Such an abrupt and irregular termination might suit the capriciousness of a promiscuous assembly, but does not at all comport with the technical forms of a solemn legal tribunal.

In addition to the want of evidence from the tenor of the narrative, so far as respects any regular arraignment of Paul as a criminal before the Areopagus, the reason assigned by the writer of the narrative for what occurred on Mars-hill appears to be satisfactory, that he occupied that position chiefly to accommodate the multitude, whose curiosity at this time was probably greatly excited to hear him. After stating that "they took" Paul, "and brought him unto Areopagus," he says, "For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing." Here we have a clew to the object of the scene. Not only the Athenians, but the numerous strangers who flocked to the city to enjoy the benefits of its schools of rhetoric and philosophy, wished to "hear something new." It was the novelty of Paul's doctrine which engaged their attention, and produced the courteous request, "May we know what this new doctrine whereof thou speakest, is?" There appears in all this not a single circumstance that borders on a criminal accusation.

That Paul may have been brought to Areopagus as a convenient place for all to hear him, may be also indirectly inferred, if we suppose with some that by Areopagus is to be understood "the whole suburbs of Athens, wherein stood the hill on which the court was built." Somewhere within these precincts may have been a spot much better adapted than the market to accommodate the multitude. The concourse of people was probably, as has been asserted, exceedingly large. At places where the apostles had preached, so great was the interest excited, that whole cities flocked to hear. In this light Paul's preaching at Athens would resemble that of Whitefield's and Wesley's preaching, not in the thickly settled parts of London, but in Moorefields, to twenty thousand people at once. Besides, we know when the Athenians listened to their orators they loved to breathe the free air of Attica, not the pent atmosphere of a crowded city; and to stand, not under colonnades, but under the broad expanse of their clear firmament. The Pnyx, where their orators spoke, was out of the city, under the open sky, and in view of some of the noblest objects of

nature and art in the world. So that in bringing Paul, a stranger, to Areopagus, the Athenians may have merely followed the natural impulse of that refined people, and complied with their common customs. Agreeably then to what we have said, we suppose that the Athenians assembled at some convenient place on or near Mars-hill "to hear this new doctrine whereof Paul spoke."

In his discourse to the Athenians Paul charges them with excess of superstition. Not satisfied with the worship of a very great number of gods, to whom they had given names, and to whom they ascribed certain qualities, they had actually erected an altar to a god without a name, without any particular attributes, and yet worshipped this "unknown God."\* This must indeed be acknowledged to be excessive superstition. As our worship of God is pure and spiritual in proportion as we form correct notions of the nature and perfection of God, how exceedingly debasing and unworthy a rational creature must be that worship which is rendered to some unknown, nameless figment of the imagination, without a single quality to excite fear or hope, reverence or love. And yet this very worship the Athenians adopted in erecting an altar to an unknown god. Upon the basis of this wretched superstition, Paul erected the noble superstructure of a belief in that Supreme Being which is the foundation of all true religious worship. "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."†

The existence of "one Supreme God, the self-originated Being,"

\* From the earliest times the objects of religious worship multiplied among the Athenians. They received the twelve principal divinities from the Egyptians, and others from the Lybians and different nations; and they were so fearful of omitting religious worship, that they even erected altars to the unknown god.—Rees' Cyclopaedia.—"St. Chrysostom ascribes the erection of this altar at Athens to the unknown god, to the excessive superstition of the Athenians, who, fearing lest they should be punished for neglecting the worship of some god of whom they were ignorant, dedicated an altar to the unknown god, for the purpose of providing for any possible omission."

† We are aware that while the superstition of the Athenians is not denied, the rendering of the word is considered liable to objection on the ground of its being too harsh and unconciliatory. But the word is used as it reads in the English translation, because it appears necessary to free the apostle from at least the appearance of "flattering," (which, as he was particularly careful to avoid in Thessalonica, so also we think in Athens,) even in the most indirect manner, the zeal of the Athenians upon the observance of what Peter calls "the abominable idolatries" of the heathen. While we do not wish to detract from the courteousness of Paul, we feel the greatest solicitude that he should be regarded as stating a simple but important fact clearly, so as to be distinctly understood, even by the most refined assembly on the earth.

If it be observed that it was imprudent to bring a charge of this nature in the commencement of his discourse, then we observe it was equally imprudent to endeavor to show the absurdity of idolatry, which was done almost in the same breath. If the one would offend, so would the other; and in either case Paul would be deprived of a hearing. The same observation would apply to what was said in reference to the resurrection of the body, which did actually produce the dreaded result, and deprived Paul of an opportunity of exhibiting more fully on this occasion—as he no doubt would have done but for the interruption which an allusion to this subject produced—the nature and the requirements of Christianity. As it is according to the argument of those who say it was imprudent for Paul to charge the Athenians with superstition, we may say it was imprudent for him to introduce the theme of the resurrection of the body, as it cut off his discourse just as he had finished the exordium. But we do not think the objection sound. We think, in charging the Athenians with superstition, Paul simply "stated a



to use the language of Plato, had long before been taught, with more or less mixture of error as to his nature and perfections, in the Academy, the Lyceum, the Portico. Paul therefore may be regarded in some sense as enforcing the doctrine of Plato on this point by the sanction of divine revelation. But though it be true that this great truth was not unknown to "the philosophers of Greece," yet this remark will not apply to the great body of the Athenians. Neither revelation nor philosophy had enlightened their minds; and though perhaps the atheistical sentiments of Epicurus, which were now very popular, had produced some effect upon the common people as well as upon the higher classes, yet this is a class in general too susceptible of their own wants and weaknesses wholly to throw away all reliance, whether imaginary or real, upon a power higher than themselves. To these then the declaration of Paul would be strictly applicable, "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."

Having exhibited this prominent truth, Paul proceeds, with no intemperance of expression or action, to attack the whole system of Athenian idolatry, however splendid and imposing to the eye—however incorporated with prejudices and attachments which had been the growth of centuries. How different was his conduct in this respect from that of the "philosophers of Greece." While they despised the absurd and ridiculous system in their hearts; or, to use the apologetic language of Gibbon, (for his language is in fact, whatever he meant, an apology for their selfishness,) while "they viewed with a smile of pity and indulgence the various errors of the vulgar," they still "diligently practised the ceremonies of their fathers, and devoutly frequented the temples of their gods." In other words they were not disposed to disturb their philosophical equanimity by laboring to remove the ignorance of "the vulgar," teaching them the absurdity of idolatry, and elevating their minds to the knowledge and worship of the "true God." This cold, calculating indifference to the best interests of their fellow creatures might suit the selfishness of Grecian philosophy, but did not accord with the nature and design of the "ministry of reconciliation." Paul therefore, with the Parthenon not far from where he stood, in sight of some of the most splendid temples of antiquity, declares that the gods to whom these temples were dedicated were unworthy of their religious adoration: that He who made the heavens dwelt not as a cold, insensible image in "temples made with hands:" that He who gave to vegetable nature "life," and "breath" to the animated creation; who provided "all things" for the wants of his creatures; whose "offspring we are;" and upon whose favor and mercy we are momentarily dependant for our "being," that this Supreme, self-originated Being "needed" not to be "worshipped with men's hands," required not the sculptural "art or device" of a Phidias to "grave an image of the Godhead, of gold, or silver, or stone." The Athenians "ought not to think so." Such a

fact acknowledged by the best Greek writers;" and that the Athenians heard the charge without exhibiting any evident marks of disgust or resentment.

Perhaps it ought to be noticed that Paul charges the Athenians with superstition not merely in *one* thing, but "in all things." He seems to consider it as a general trait; and not as confined exclusively to religion.

view of the Godhead was not only unworthy of the philosopher, but of "the vulgar." Conceptions so low and grovelling, not only detracted from the glory of God, but were exceedingly debasing to their own natures. Look, Athenians, beyond your temples, your altars, your statues, to the God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth. He it is whom "I declare unto you."

Here is Christian piety and compassion. The philosopher could look "with a smile of pity upon the errors of the vulgar:" but pity with him was an emotion of the heart, rather than an active principle. But not so with Paul. To see was indeed to feel: but to feel was to act. He did not consult "with flesh and blood," but declared, not in the retired grove with the philosophers, to a select circle of congenial minds, but in a large, promiscuous assembly of idolatrous Athenians, God to be the Lord of heaven and earth; and as such the only object of religious worship. This is the benevolence of Christianity, not the selfishness of heathen philosophy. The gospel aims a deadly blow, in the truth it announces, at the whole system of idolatrous worship. It is true it speaks calmly,—meekly: but it is a calmness arising from a deep conviction of the truths it utters: it is a meekness sustained by an undaunted spirit, which gives truth a keener edge and a brighter lustre. The precepts of heathen philosophy are often argued along with those which dropped from the lips of the Saviour, but the conduct of those who delivered them, at least in one important particular, as acknowledged by an oracle of infidelity itself, will admit of no comparison with that of Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles. Which course, we ask, as an exhibition of true benevolence, recommends itself the most strongly to every sincere and ardent inquirer after truth? Whether of the twain, the philosopher or Paul, felt the most deeply for the happiness of all men?

But Paul is not satisfied merely with declaring the great truth of the existence of one Supreme Being; of asserting his power and providence; and of showing the baseless fabric of idolatry: he takes still higher ground. He announces the law of God as to idolatry authoritatively, as a messenger from Heaven: as an ambassador for Christ. Moses originally delivered the very same law, amidst the sandy plains of Arabia, to believing Jews, while the mountain on which he had received it was enveloped in smoke, and thunder and lightning proceeded from it. Paul on Mars-hill, surrounded by enlightened, inquisitive idolaters, enforced the same law, accompanied by no other sanction than that which the Holy Spirit should make on the hearts of those who heard him. Paul thus speaks of the law of God on this subject. "And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent."

The former prevalence of idolatry in Athens Paul excuses in some measure on the ground of ignorance. And in view of this declaration of Paul it should be remembered that more or less superstition and ignorance obscured the minds of the wisest and best of the philosophers of Greece. Even Socrates, styled by his disciple Plato "the best, the wisest, the greatest, the justest" of the Greeks of his time, after he had delivered his sentiments to his friends on the immortality

of the soul, so admirably portrayed in the *Phædon* of Plato, just before he died—they were his last words—directed Crito to fulfil a vow he had made to offer a cock to *Æsculapius*, charging him especially not to forget it.\* Here we perceive a tincture of superstition still cleaving to the almost divinely illuminated mind of Socrates. Neither need we be surprised at this, when we consider that heathen philosophers were left to the efforts of the understanding, unassisted by revelation, to grope their way out of the darkness which had for ages been settling upon the human mind. And even after they arrived, as a few of them did, at the knowledge of a first cause, of the “true God,” their deductions, allowing that they made every effort universally to disseminate them, which they did not, were merely the deductions of philosophers: they were not especially sanctioned by God himself. In addition to this, the course of truth is always slow; and doubtless much slower in its progress among “the vulgar,” dressed in a philosophical garb, than in the plain, simple, divinely authoritative diction of revelation. “This direct intercourse brings God much nearer to the mass of mankind.”† From these causes some allowance may be made even for Athenian idolatry.

But whatever allowance might heretofore have been made on the ground of ignorance for the idolatry of the Athenians, Paul informs them with the utmost distinctness that God “now commandeth all men everywhere to repent.” The introduction of the gospel into Athens placed idolatry on a different footing from what it had ever been before. The Athenians would now be indeed “without excuse” if they should continue to bow the knee to idols, worshipping *Minerva* in the *Parthenon*, or *Jupiter* in the superb temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, or paying adoration to any idol statue instead of bowing the knee at the name of *Jesus*, and with the tongue confessing that *Jesus Christ* is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

In assigning a reason for a strict compliance with this divine injunction, Paul introduced *Jesus Christ* as the man whom God had ordained to judge the world in righteousness, of the certainty of which most solemn event he had given the strongest assurance in that he had raised him from the dead. The resurrection of the dead was a new and startling doctrine to the Athenians. Even the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was considered as attended with a great deal of doubt and uncertainty. Men, *Cebes* tells us,‡ looked on what *Socrates* advanced on this subject as incredible: almost every body fancying that when the soul parted from the body it was no more: that it died along with it. From the four schools of Athens, with the exception of the *Academy*, we obtain little light on this point. *Epicurus* taught without disguise that the soul was mortal: *Zeno*, it is

\* We cannot but think that *Socrates* spoke these words literally, not enigmatically. There is a matter of fact earnestness in delivering the direction to *Crito* which seems to us to express that he meant just what he said. We can easily conceive that a remnant of superstition may have been blended with the superior religious light which *Socrates* enjoyed. But, even if this had not been the case, if *Socrates* had been entirely free from all bias to idolatry, he may, notwithstanding, have regarded it as his duty to comply with the religious institutions and customs of his country.

† Channing.

‡ See *Phædon*.



thought,\* confined its existence to a limited duration: while it is at least considered doubtful whether Aristotle believed this everlasting truth. If so much difference on so vital a subject existed among the most celebrated schools in the world; if also the atheistical sentiments of Epicurus had at this time gained the greatest currency; if "almost every body" were disposed to believe the soul mortal, novel and startling indeed must the grosser doctrine, so to speak, of the resurrection of the body, have been considered. Indeed, the mere allusion to this subject appears to have been received with the most profound contempt. It led to an abrupt dispersion of the assembly. The great truth of a future judgment, to which they were all accountable, and at which time they would all be judged in righteousness, even in reference to the use they made of the truths Paul delivered to them that day, was entirely overlooked, in the supreme silliness, as they conceived, of his allusion to the resurrection of the dead. Some had heard all they desired of such a babbler; others, with Athenian courtesy, but not a whit the more sincere on this account, pretended that they would "hear him again." Wise in their own conceit, their foolish hearts darkened, they did not think one who could advance so absurd a doctrine worthy of further attention. They therefore "turned" nearly "every one to his own way." "And when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked, and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter."

Deeply affected at their incredulity, at the vanity of their minds, Paul turned to a higher source for consolation, leaving his work with the Lord. But the labours of Paul in Athens were not altogether as water spilled upon the ground. "Howbeit certain men clave unto him and believed; among the which was Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them."

Several observations occur to us from what has been said as to Paul's first visit to Athens. We select one or two. One is "the travail and labour" of soul that Paul, as a minister of the glorious gospel of God our Saviour, constantly felt that Christ might be formed in the hearts of those who heard him. Of all the cities in the world, Athens presented the most numerous and striking objects to attract the curiosity, and engage the attention, of an intelligent stranger. But even in Athens, one object wholly engaged the attention of Paul; the vast, the splendid, the imposing, but mournful exhibitions of Athenian idolatry. His heart was full of what he saw. His "spirit was moved within him." Who can describe the deep concern, the inconceivable anguish, implied in this expression! It arose from an unutterable solicitude for the overturning of idolatry; for the upbuilding of the Redeemer's kingdom; for the success of his ministry. This solicitude to "make full proof of his ministry," which Paul labors in vain adequately to express, we discover to be his predominant feeling, not only in Athens, but wherever he went—whether to Asia, or Macedonia, or Greece, or Italy. And to it, accompanied by the divine blessing, we are to trace his amazing success in preaching the gospel to the Gentiles. This exclusive devotion to his high and glorious calling, this deep concern for the salvation of souls, is not

\* A variety of opinions on this point prevailed among the Stoics.

confined to Paul ; it has also invariably distinguished every true, successful minister of the Lord Jesus. This "great desire" to have "fruit" in the ministry expresses itself in unceasing prayer, in tears, in groanings which cannot be uttered. It is the mark by which we may clearly distinguish between "the hireling" and "the good Shepherd." It was men of this spirit, who in this respect possessed eminently "the mind which was also in Christ Jesus," who, succeeding their Master, raised up from "stones, children unto Abraham." They were but a few men in number : yea, very few, and entire "strangers" in the cities and countries where they went to "preach the gospel of the kingdom." "They went from one nation to another, from one kingdom to another people," and their "entrance in unto" the heathen "was not in vain." The ignorant, especially in a religious sense, the superstitious, the licentious heathen, receiving the word of God which the apostles preached "not as the word of men, but as it was in truth, the word of God," became followers of the churches of God which in Judea were in Christ Jesus." Men of this spirit have sustained, revived, and enlarged, in all ages, the church of the living God. We discover in the earlier part of the last century an exhibition of precisely the same spirit, which "worked mightily" in Paul, in Brainerd in our own wilderness among the Indians, not only sunk in ignorance themselves, but contaminated by the vices of the whites, while, about the same time, but in another portion of the globe, we see its influence in the incipient stages of Methodism as Mr. Wesley went from London to Bristol ; to Kingswood ; to Wales, directed simply by the Spirit and providence of God. If the blood of the martyrs has been the seed of the church, it is this "travail and labour" of soul for sinners, in the ministers of Jesus Christ, which, in every age, and in every country, has built up the church as "a spiritual house, composed of lively stones, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." It is this love for souls, this unutterable solicitude to "make full proof of their ministry," which they who love the peace of Jerusalem pray that the labourers may richly possess when they go forth into the wide field of the world already white unto the harvest.

We will venture to offer another observation suggested by our subject. It is the diffusive nature of Christianity. The philosophy of Greece, as has been already noticed, seems almost exclusively to have been confined to the richer and higher classes of society. "The vulgar" were regarded with "a smile of pity" indeed, but little, if any thing had been done at the time Christ appeared upon the earth, though about four hundred years had elapsed since the academy of Plato was opened, (which was quickly followed by the other schools,) to teach them the nature and perfections of the First Cause: to "turn them from idols to serve the living and true God." The great body of the people were still deeply sunk in idolatry. Not so with the Christian religion. Contrasted with the partial and exclusive nature of heathen philosophy, an increased beauty and force may be perceived in that declaration of our Saviour's, "The poor have the gospel preached to them." Not indeed that the rich were excluded from the benevolent and comprehensive design of the gospel, but that it was peculiarly adapted to the limited opportunities, the scanty acquisitions, and the unfavorable circumstances of the poor. The brilliant

but cold beams of philosophy may have thrown a lustre upon the polished surface of heathen society, but it required the vital warmth and quickening energy of the Sun of righteousness to reach the very heart of a "world lying in wickedness," and to "cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations. This was to be effected not merely by enlightening and purifying one class, and that a comparatively small class, but by bringing every human being within the influence of that knowledge which is life eternal to them that "lay hold upon it." And as the great mass of society consists of the poor, and those in a middling condition in life, these were to be convinced of sin; to be instructed in all righteousness. Many were to run to and fro, constrained by the love of Christ, and knowledge was to be universally diffused among all classes and conditions in life. Is it not to this very principle in Christianity we are to ascribe the immense superiority in religious knowledge, in intellectual culture, in the social condition of the poorer classes now, to the same classes in the highest state of Athenian refinement? The gospel in its simplicity, truth, and power, is exactly adapted to the poor; but the metaphysical subtlety of Grecian philosophy never was. Blessed be the name of God, through the diffusive, practical nature of Christianity, the poor have the gospel preached to them.

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#### ART. V.—WEST RIVER CIRCUIT.

I DESIGN to give you an account of the field of labour assigned me and my worthy colleague from our last conference, which, if you think it would not disparage the reputation of the excellent miscellany you conduct, it would be gratifying to see in its columns. I fear, however, from the range of observation in prospect, you may with reason, judge it too prolix for the patience of your numerous readers.\* But there is one consideration which may be pleaded in justification this once. The voice of West River circuit, as such, has never been heard abroad, and it seems but reasonable to favour it with an introduction to the great community. It is the upper division of what was known, until our last conference, as Calvert circuit, and included entirely in Anne Arundel, excepting at the southern extremity, where the Friendship congregation wings out over a portion of Calvert county. It has its name, with its centre neighbourhood and post-office, from a beautiful sheet of navigable water which empties into the Chesapeake.

At a time when the tide of emigration is rushing on, thousands deep, into the forests of the far West, and we feel grateful to every traveller who will give us any, even the least intelligence of regions so interesting, and, till now, so little known; there is many an eye which runs over with eagerness the descriptions of forests, and mountains, and prairies, which opens daily, though listlessly, upon scenes as worthy of notice as those a thousand miles distant.

I am induced to make the foregoing remark, because the circuit of

\* This was originally designed for the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, but has been thought more suitable for this place.—EDITOR.



which I furnish some account lies so immediately in the heart of the old state of Maryland, so contiguous to her large city of Baltimore—to her own capital—and to the capital of the Union, (the north-eastern boundary of the circuit being four miles only from Annapolis, and the western, twenty-two from Washington,) that it might be supposed there is nothing as regards its geographical situation, the features of its scenery, or the manners, morals, and religion of its inhabitants, which at this late day could command attention, as distinguishing it from other circuits in so old a state. The following particulars will show that *the West River circuit* is not only peculiar in respect to its situation; but that it is inhabited by a peculiar people.

This circuit is about twenty miles in length, and in breadth varies from eight to twelve. From the summit of a high hill in the immediate vicinity of Mount Zion meeting house, the eye embraces at once the whole extent of it, in length and breadth; and the observer thus favourably situated would be induced to exclaim, "Truly it is a goodly land!" Surely these people should have grateful hearts, for "their lines have fallen in pleasant places." That long unbroken line of blue vapour which stretches away from the northeast to the southwest through the whole extent of the prospect, and gives to every object on which it rests that soft azure tint so much admired in the paintings of Claude Lorraine, hovers over and indicates the course of the river Patuxent, which forms the northwest boundary of the circuit. Along its whole eastern border rolls the Chesapeake, presenting to the eye from the spot we have designated, as the sun rises over its broad wave, one burnished sheet of living gold. Following the windings of its shore, and passing over creek and inlet, and lofty forest, and highly cultivated plain, we reach the banks of South River, its northeastern boundary, near to which stands Hope Chapel, of which we shall speak in its place. Amid that range of hills which lift their naked heads against the southern horizon, stands the village of Friendship, at a short distance beyond which runs the line which divides the West River from the Calvert circuit.

Having thus taken a bird's eye view of the objects which designate the limits of the circuit, we proceed to speak more particularly of the country contained within them; and if the lover of the picturesque is gratified by the pleasing alternation of hill and dale, of field and forest, which is everywhere presented, not less satisfactory will be the result of inquiry to those more immediately interested; for in point of fertility of soil in the production of the staples of Maryland, no lands in the state surpass, and very few equal those of this district. Fertile as they now are, it is nevertheless true, that thirty, or even twenty-five years ago, the same lands were so worn down by injudicious tillage as to have become nearly worthless. Their recovery has been owing to the application of gypsum. While on this part of my subject, it would be doing injustice to the memory of a public benefactor to the district, not to mention the name of John Galloway, Esq., of West River. Having satisfied himself, by actual experiment, that clover could be made to grow on the most barren spots by the use of gypsum, though its *modus operandi* was then, as indeed it still is, utterly unknown, with much cost and trouble, for then it was difficult to obtain it, he strewed it lavishly on his extensive fields, and the

desert and waste places began literally to bloom and blossom as the rose. To men who had as little philosophy as Shakspeare's shepherd, the effect seemed nothing short of magical, and many a seedtime and harvest had attested its efficacy, ere it came into general use. It is needless to say that it is now universal.

If the inhabitants of a country on which we have bestowed so much praise are not thankful, it is not because they have wanted the means of grace to make them so—if they are not happy, it is not because they do not "hear the joyful sound." There are five commodious chapels belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and two primary school houses, in which there is preaching once in two weeks, beside the houses for the exclusive accommodation of the coloured people, who claim an equal share of ministerial labour. In addition to which, there are two large and venerable Protestant Episcopal churches—the pulpit of one we know now is, and for several years has been, filled by a gifted, zealous, and spiritual minister; and of the other, although we have not a personal knowledge, the minister having been but lately inducted into the parish, yet we have reason to believe he is a truly estimable man, and highly acceptable to the congregation.

The inhabitants, of whom it remains that we now speak, can scarcely be divided into the two classes of rich and poor; for as, with a few exceptions, there are none who, in the common acceptation, can be called rich, so there are few who can be said to be absolutely poor. They seem, indeed, to be placed in that happy medium so favourable to sound morality and steady, consistent piety. Cool, quiet, and persevering, they continue to keep the noiseless tenor of their way through life, as though that speculating, improving, "go-ahead" system, which rages around, had never reached them; and as it is our heart's desire, and earnest prayer for them, that "they may be called" Hephzibah, and their land Beulah, because the Lord delighteth in them, we do fervently hope it never may.

So far as our observation goes, and it is co-extensive with the limits of the circuit, there is no strife in all its borders. On the agitating questions which divide the political world, there is here an unprecedented unanimity of sentiment. And on the still more agitating, because supremely interesting subject of religion, society here presents the image of an empire, composed of separate but not hostile provinces, whose subjects are ready to go forth, whenever the banner is unfurled, and who, in rushing forward in the great contest with the powers of darkness, are unmindful of every other distinction but that of the friends and foes of Jesus, being too eager for the contest to ask any other question than "Who is on the Lord's side?"

Of their domestic habits we might say much did time permit—*this* particular trait, however, must not be passed over—their unwillingness to leave home. So far is this carried that we know men of property, and information too, who, living within thirty miles of Washington, have nevertheless never seen the capitol. Men who daily read the speeches of our politicians, who have never seen the face of one of them; and it may be doubted if of the five hundred and twenty voters which this circuit contains, twenty of them ever saw General Jackson. Nearly every individual who is now the head of a family was born in it. There are some few exceptions, and even among

those exceptions our information can number but *three* who are not natives of the state of Maryland.

Among a people thus happily situated, it would at the first glance appear strange that there should be any who had not yet embraced the Saviour, and connected themselves with one or the other of the two churches which exist in the district, or that, having joined either, they should stagger for a moment at the promise, or fail to put forth their whole strength in running the race which is set before them. Alas! that this most melancholy consideration should here force itself on us, that the circumstance of their being *not far* from the kingdom of God may prove a possible reason for their not entering into it; if their being *almost* Christians should be the very preventing cause of their being *altogether* such! Whoever has examined the reasons given by Hannah More (from whom the last observation is borrowed) "why some good sort of people are not better," will perfectly understand our meaning; and to no persons on earth do those reasons apply with more force than to the unconverted part of society in this circuit. We may not, however, quit this subject, without acknowledging that if among these people conversions are not as numerous and as frequent as they should be, they are generally genuine; if the flame of devotion does not rise as high as we could wish it, its heat for the more part is regular and constant; and we humbly trust that in the day of account a goodly number both of Methodist and Protestant Episcopalians in this part of the Lord's vineyard will be found among those "who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

This hasty sketch of the circuit would certainly be incomplete without some more particular mention of our places of public worship. We will begin with that of *Friendship*, which is a large and substantial building of brick, erected within the last two years, and capable of containing a thousand persons. It is neatly and most appropriately finished, and will suffer nothing in comparison with any place of worship out of a city in the state of Maryland. The spirit with which this building was undertaken by the membership in the vicinity of Friendship, the persevering zeal with which it was carried on, and finally completed, call upon the society to esteem them very highly in love for this work's sake: and but for that we know

"Who builds a church to God, and not to fame,  
Will never mark the marble with his name;"

we would gratify our own feelings, and perform an act of gratitude, and justice, by enrolling them on this page. But what would it avail? seeing that we trust and believe their names are already written in the Lamb's book of life.

Passing upward, we come to Union Chapel, a small house, but Bethel indeed, accommodating a society of truly devoted Christians. The ground on which it stands was generously given by a member of our sister church, and the more generously, in that the gentleman who gave it is supposed to be warmly and devotedly attached to the particular tenets of his own denomination. Let it be our fervent prayer that in the great day for which all other days were made, he may hear these welcome words, "In that ye did it unto the least of these, ye did it unto me."



Following the course which we have prescribed to ourselves, we come next to the Swamp Chapel, a name so unpromising, that a stranger to the scenery around it will be surprised to hear that few situations can be more romantically beautiful for a place of worship, than the one of which we are now to speak. That large tract of land lying between West River and Herring Bay is called the Swamp, and in times not very remote was entirely covered by a noble and extensive forest of trees, furnishing timber the most valuable of any on the shores of the Chesapeake, and in many respects little inferior to live oak. It will readily be supposed that a forest thus valuable would not be suffered to flourish long within fifty miles of the ship-yards of Baltimore, and the winds and the waves have dispersed the greater part to all the corners of the earth. That part of it, however, which still remains, surrounds the chapel, and though from the ground's being level for miles, there is no running stream, and in summer it becomes hard and parched; and in the winter, when not frozen, is muddy and disagreeable, yet during the spring and autumn 'tis every way beautiful. The wood being in this place open, and free from brush and underwood, where neither shrubs nor weeds are to be seen, the green turf extends in every direction, over which the stately white oaks fling their gigantic arms, in some places so closely intermingled as totally to intercept the sunbeams; in others receding from each other; and forming those long sweeping vistas in the intricacy of which the eye delights to lose itself, while imagination pursues them, as the paths to yet wilder scenes of sylvan solitude. It is not, however, to be denied, that the Swamp, picturesque and inviting to the eye as it at times really appears, excepting in spots, is no desirable place of residence. The chapel is new and commodious, and in all respects evidences the fostering care of those who watch over its concerns. May they who are travelling through that "valley of Baca," ever find it a well on "the way which leadeth to the holy city," trusting in God to strengthen, and prosper, and conduct them to the house of his habitation, the place where his glory dwelleth.

We have now arrived at Mount Zion. This church stands at the base of a wooded hill, and in a tract of country where the axe has been ceaselessly plied since the days of Cecilius Lord Baltimore (for the ground on which it is built was once a part of his lordship's particular property.) It is both a pleasing, though uncommon circumstance, that it is nearly encircled by a grove of lofty oaks. The structure and outward appearance of the house itself do not well correspond with the natural beauty of its situation. But when we consider the difficulties that were to be surmounted, the deep-rooted prejudices that were encountered, ere it could be placed there at all, we can have no other feeling but that of gratitude, at finding it *where* it is, and such *as* it is.

Of those by whose exertions this house was built, two only, it is believed, remain. As they were the most efficient in building it, so they have been most active in supporting it—through summer's heat and winter's cold, for more than twenty years, they have occupied their seats in it. May they, when their pilgrimage shall close, with the enlightened society with which they are connected, hear the glad-some invitation, saying, "Friends, come up higher!" But many an eye will be dim, and many a heart will be cold, ere the names of

Robert Case and Benjamin Atwell will be forgotten amid the shades of Mount Zion.

We have yet to speak of Hope Chapel, of which, however, there is little to say. The location, it is presumed, is good, as regards the convenience of the surrounding inhabitants, standing, as it does, on what may be called the throat of South River Neck. There is nothing claiming particular attention in the house itself, though it may be remarked that its name will probably ere long descend to a substantial and inviting edifice, which, by the blessing of God upon the enterprise and liberality of brethren and friends, we trust shall be reared. But of a prophet's chamber standing hard by, it would be ingratitude to omit the mention. He who had kept it swept and furnished for the messengers of the gospel, during many a long year, has lately gathered up his feet and departed in great peace. Doubtless he has witnessed the truth of the promise, "Whoso shall give a cup of cold water to one of these in my name, shall in nowise lose his reward." But the chamber is as well prepared—the welcome is as warm and cordial as ever—for his leading staff has descended to no unworthy hands. The family he has left behind are all pressing toward the mark of the same high calling, and

"When soon or late, they reach that coast  
O'er life's rough ocean driven;  
May they rejoice—no wanderer lost—  
A family in heaven."

Our charge, as suggested by the foregoing remarks, is so compact that we have been able to form it into three leaders' meetings, and to transact our official business with a degree of regularity highly desirable, and which contributes much to the health and prosperity of the whole. In our ministerial labours we have been favoured with a good degree of success. We cannot state, however, the precise number converted to God—but about two hundred and forty, professing, for the most part, the knowledge of sins forgiven, have united with the church, one hundred and ninety of whom are of the injured race of Africa. Some have removed, a number have died in prospect of a glorious immortality, a very few have been expelled, and here and there one on probation has been discontinued. But after deducting on every account, we have a considerable nett increase. To God be all the glory! There are in some instances, even here, lingering taints of that wicked, soul-chilling penuriousness which, practically, bids the preachers' toil and suffer, and obtain from other resources their daily bread, or take comfort in prospect of their full reward beyond the grave; yet, generally, the spirit and liberality of the people speak out with David, "Neither will I offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing." And we have ground for strong confidence that if the measures of our excellent Discipline are faithfully followed up, the time is not far distant when they shall experience a powerful and extensive revival of the work of God. The Lord send it speedily for Christ's sake! Amen.

Yours in the best of bonds,

JOHN A. GERE.

*West River Circuit, Balt. Con., Feb. 28th, 1837.*

From the Biblical Repertory.

ART. VI.—MARTIN LUTHER AT THE DIET OF WORMS.

As soon as it was determined that Luther should appear at Worms, his enemies endeavored to bring it about that he should go thither without the imperial safe conduct, but with that of the elector alone. In this way, they thought that Luther would either be deterred, or that he might more easily be seized. But the elector did not countenance this proposal of the emperor, and upon this was issued on the 26th of March, 1521, the imperial citation to appear at Worms within twenty-one days, with a safe conduct, together with the bull and the discourse of Aleander. The former had this remarkable superscription: "To the reverend, pious, and beloved Doctor Martin Luther, of the Augustinian order;" and neither of the instruments contained any mention of a recantation to be demanded. He was furnished with letters of protection from the princes through whose territories he was to pass, as well as from the elector of Saxony and his brother John, and Duke George. As his personal escort Caspar Sturm was appointed herald, under the title of Germany. On the same account the elector expressly wrote on the 12th of March to the bailiff and council of Wittenberg, commanding them to provide that no hinderance in word or deed should occur, and that, if necessary, he should have a guard, and a respectful outfit. Luther then set out, in God's name, with his herald, for Worms, accompanied by Justus Jonas, afterward prebendary at Wittenberg, Nicholas von Amsdorf, Peter von Schwaven, a Danish nobleman, and Jerome Schurf, a civilian of Wittenberg.

At the same time it was that the pope, in excess of contentious zeal, repeated the excommunication of Luther in another form. On Maundy Thursday, the 28th of March, in the notorious bull *In coena Domini*, he included Luther among the other heretics who are annually condemned anew in the same way at Rome. "In the name (so it runs) of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by authority of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and also our own, we do hereby denounce and curse all manner of heretics, (among whom are included the Arnoldists, Wiclifites, Hussites, and Fratricelli,) and also Martin Luther, lately condemned by us, for like heresy, together with all his adherents and such as show him favor that he may escape punishment, whoever they be, and all other heretics, as they may be named, and all their fautors, adherents, and retainers. We excommunicate and curse all pirates, all who in their territories institute new taxes or exact such as are forbidden; all who furnish horses, arms, iron or wooden work or other forbidden articles to Saracens, Turks, and other enemies of the Christian name, enabling them to contend with Christians," &c. This new anathema, however, did Luther no injury, especially as every one knew how it must be regarded by him. At a later period, he published it himself, with keen and vehement notes, pungent sarcasm and sparkling wit, under this title: "The Bull *Abendfressen*\* of our most holy father the pope." At that period it was not un-

\* In allusion to the title of the bull, *in coena Domini*.



common to attack human passion and hypocrisy in religion, with these weapons of sarcasm and coarse wit; indeed it was but a little before the appearance of this bull that the famous painter, Lucas Kranach, published at Wittenberg a series of wood-cuts, entitled "The Passional of Christ and of Antichrist," with titles by Philip Melancthon. In general, all that Germany could then boast of poetry and art was arrayed on the side of the Reformation, and voluntarily came into its service. The two greatest masters of the imitative arts, Albert Durer and Lucas Kranach, were friends and followers of Luther, and celebrated by their productions the name of this reformer and of the chief defenders of the pure faith. In 1523, Hans Sachs, the Nuremberg minstrel, composed in honor of Luther the pleasing song which even now is everywhere familiar, under the title of the Wittenberg Nightingale.

The vehicle in which Luther travelled to Worms was given to him by the council of Wittenberg, and drew from him a letter of courteous thanks. At Weimar, he received from Duke John a sum for his travelling expenses. At Erfurt his reception was particularly honorable. Crotus, at that time rector of the university, accompanied by Eobanus Hessen, Euricius Cordus, John Draco and others, forty being mounted and a large number on foot, received him two German miles from Erfurt, and escorted into the city the carriage or wagon in which Luther and his friends were journeying. Here and in all the streets through which the procession passed the throng became still greater. At the request of many he preached in the Augustinian convent. This entry and visit to Erfurt has been celebrated in four beautiful Latin poems by his friend Eobanus. At Eisenach he was sick. He was bled, and the mayor of the town gave him an excellent potion, after which he enjoyed a night's rest, and on the next day was able to continue his journey. Whenever he entered a town, multitudes of people met him, in order to see the brave man who had dared to withstand the pope. Some there were who gave him but poor encouragement, saying that as there were so many cardinals and bishops at Worms, he would certainly be at once burned to powder, as was Huss at Constance. But he replied, that if they should make a fire, between Wittenberg and Worms, that should reach up to heaven, he would nevertheless appear there, in the Lord's name, and in the jaws of behemoth, between his very tusks, confess Christ, and recognise his dominion. From Frankfort he wrote to Spalatin, that he had heard of the promulgation of the imperial edict: "We are coming, dear Spalatin, although Satan has laid a variety of ailments as stumbling-blocks in the way; for all the journey from Eisenach hither I have been indisposed, and am so even now, in a manner altogether unwonted. I hear likewise that a mandate of the Emperor Charles has been published to alarm me. But Christ still lives, and in his name will we enter Worms, in spite of all the gates of hell, and the powers of the air. I have made up my mind to brave and despise the devil. Prepare us a lodging forthwith."\*

An attempt was made, by the practices of the archbishop of Mentz, as Luther afterward proved, to dissuade him from taking

\* Ep. 309, De Wette. Ap. 14, 1521.—Tr.

the direct road to Worms, in order that he might go to the castle of Ebernburgh, and confer there with the wily Glassio. Possibly this took place in good faith, as that castle belonged to Francis of Sickingen, who in like manner sought a conference by means of Bucer. Luther, however, looked upon the worst side of the affair, being apprehensive of snares, and thought that they meant to detain him until the three remaining days of his safe-conduct should have elapsed. He therefore answered firmly, that he would go forward to the place whither he was called, and that he might be found at Worms. In Oppenheim he was counselled by Spalatin not to proceed directly to Worms, and thus place himself in so great jeopardy. But he replied to him, that he would go to Worms even if there were as many devils there as tiles upon the houses. In recounting this, a few days before his death, he added: "Thus reckless of consequences, can God make a man; I know not whether I should now be so light-hearted."

On the 16th of April he arrived at Worms. Before the wagon rode the imperial herald with the eagle arms, accompanied by his servant. Behind these came Justus Jonas with his academical *Famulus*. They were met by a number of the nobility, and at ten o'clock, when he entered the city, he was accompanied by more than two thousand men to his lodging, which was near the Swan, where Louis the elector palatine had his abode. In the same house with him were the Saxon counsellors, Frederick von Thunau and Philip von Feilitsch, both knights, and also Ulrich von Pappenheim the imperial marshal. This we learn from Veit Warbeck, a canon of Altenburg, who, on account of his familiarity with the French language, was retained at the court of the Elector Frederick; he gave an account of Luther's entry into Worms to Duke John the brother of the elector.

On the very next morning he was cited by Pappenheim, the hereditary marshal of the empire, to appear before the imperial council the same afternoon, and this gentleman himself called for him at four o'clock, and joined the herald in conducting him. So great was the throng in the streets, that many ascended the house-tops to get a sight of him; and to avoid the press, they went through several houses and gardens. As Luther was about to enter the assembly-hall, the famous general George Frundsberg, clapped him upon the shoulder and said: "Monkling, Monkling, thou art now on thy way to take a stand, the like of which I and many other captains have never taken in the fiercest conflicts. Now if thou art in the right, and sure of thy cause, go forward in God's name, and be of good cheer, God will not forsake thee." Ulrich von Hutten had likewise encouraged him by two noble letters, inscribed "to Martin Luther, invincible theologian and evangelist, and my pious friend." The former of these opens thus: "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee; send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion; grant thee according to thine own heart and fulfil all thy counsel; hear thee from his holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand. For what else, at this time, should I wish for you, most worthy Luther, my honored father? Be of good cheer; be strong. You see what a game lies before you, and how much is

at stake. From me you have every thing to hope. If you stand firm, you shall have me by your side until my last breath." Even in the assembly of chiefs, princes, counts, barons, bishops, and other deputies, there were those who gave public expression to their sympathies. According to the account of an eye witness, there were more than five thousand spectators, German and Italian, in the hall, and antechamber, and around the windows.\* On every side Luther was encouraged to be confident, and not to fear such as could only kill the body. Marshal Pappenheim (the Pappenheims became counts at a later date) reminded him that as now standing before the emperor and other dignities, he must speak nothing except as he might be questioned. John von Eck or Eckius, the official of Treves, then came forward, and in the name of the emperor asked whether he acknowledged for his own certain books which were pointed out as lying before him, and whether he was willing to recant their contents. Upon this, Dr. Schurf, who had been assigned to him as his advocate, cried out that the books ought to be designated by name; and when this was done, Luther answered affirmatively to the first question, but prayed for more time to answer the second, which was allowed by the emperor. Indeed it was in the highest degree becoming to his own dignity, and that of this illustrious assembly, to evince the greatest caution, in these high and holy affairs, and utterly exclude every thing that might betray levity, want of solemnity, or stormy passion.

As he was now summoned to a second appearance before the diet, the interest and avidity of public expectation were increased, with regard to his decisive answer. To this audience he was again conducted by the herald, about four o'clock. He was however under the necessity of standing and waiting in the midst of a great multitude, until six o'clock. At this hour the torches in the council-hall were burning. When he was at length introduced, and allowed to speak, he delivered himself in the German language as follows:—

"Most serene emperor, and you, gracious electors, princes and lords,—as an obedient subject I appear at the limit yesterday assigned to me, and pray by the mercy of God, that your majesty and serene highnesses, as I hope, will graciously hear these true and righteous things. And if peradventure, from ignorance, I should withhold from any one his due title, or in other respects should exhibit an uncourtly demeanour, I crave your forbearance, inasmuch as I have never been at court, but always confined to the cloister; and of myself can offer only this, that in whatsoever has been heretofore taught and written by me in the simplicity of my heart, I have intended and sought only God's glory, and the profit and salvation of Christian believers, to the end that they might be rightly and purely instructed." And here he made a distinction among his books. Some there were, in which he taught correctly and in a Christian manner concerning faith and good works, his adversaries themselves being judges. These he could not revoke. Yea, said he, even the pope's bull, hot and hasty as it is, nevertheless

\* George Vogler, secretary to the Margrave of Brandenburg. V. Mensel's *Hist. Lit. Mag.*, 1802, I, p. 207.



makes some of my books harmless, though by an unnatural and monstrous decision it denounces the same. In a second class of works, he attacked popery and popish doctrine, which by false teaching and bad example had desolated Christendom in body and soul. For experience shows, and pious hearts bewail, and hence no man can gainsay or dissemble it, that by the pope's law and doctrines of men, the consciences of believers have been entangled, burdened, and tormented in a way the most lamentable and horrid; and their property, lands, and possessions, especially in this renowned German nation, exhausted and devoured with incredible tyranny, as indeed they continue to be devoured in the most unrighteous way up to this present hour. These books, therefore, he could not revoke, for so doing he should strengthen tyranny and corruption. "And O," cried he, "what a tool should I thus become to hide the shame of all villany and despotism!" The third class of his books comprised those aimed at certain private persons, who presumed to defend Romish tyranny, and to falsify or suppress the godly doctrine which he had taught. In these he had sometimes evinced more heat than became his calling, yet he could not revoke even these, lest he should give occasion hereafter for the defence of every ungodly thing, and lead the way to new abomination and fury. "Nevertheless," continued he, "since I am man, and not God, I can no otherwise support or defend my books than as my Lord and Master did with regard to his doctrine; who, when he was examined before the high priest Annas concerning his teaching, and was smitten by one of the officers, answered: If I have spoken evil bear witness of the evil. If then the Lord, who knew that he could not err, refused not to hear testimony against his doctrine, even from a poor sorry menial, how much more should I, who am dust and ashes, easily liable to error, crave and await whatever witness may be alleged against my teaching. Therefore I pray your imperial, electoral, and princely highnesses, as also all others high or low who may be able, by the mercy of God, that you would bear witness, and prove by prophetic and apostolic Scriptures that I have erred, and when I am convinced I will be willing and ready to recant all my errors, and be the first to commit my poor writings to the flames. And here I clearly and publicly declare that I have fully considered the distress and danger, the stir and variance, which will be awakened by my doctrine, and of which I was severely reminded yesterday. And of a truth it is to me the greatest pleasure and joy to see that contention and discord arise about God's word, for this is the very way and course and fortune of God's word. Wherefore we should well consider how wonderful are the counsels and judgments of God, lest perchance that which we pretend leads to discord and contention, should result (if in the confidence of our own strength and wisdom we should begin by persecuting God's word) in a frightful flood of invincible peril of both bodily and spiritual misfortune and injury. And we should beware lest the reign of this famous and excellent young prince, the Emperor Charles, (in whom under God our hope rests,) have not only its beginning, but its middle and end, evil and ungodly. I could much more fully explain and illustrate this point by examples from the Holy Scriptures, as for instance by the case of Pha-

raoh, the kings of Babylon and of Israel, who involved themselves in the greatest misfortune and destruction, mainly because they thought to quiet and sustain their realms by most wise plans and counsels. For there is one who taketh the wise in their own craftiness: who removeth the mountains and they know not; Job v, 13; ix, 5. Therefore it is needful to fear God. This, however, for the sake of brevity I now omit. And even what I say is not from the notion that such great princes stand in need of my instruction or advice, but because I ought not and will not withhold my bounden duty from the German nation, my dear native country; and with this I do most humbly and submissively beseech your highnesses that you will not suffer me to be disturbed without cause by my adversaries."

Thus, and at much greater length, Luther spoke in German. It was well known, however, that the emperor understood Spanish better than German, and moreover could not endure the German language, "and therefore (so Luther himself relates) as I so spake, they begged that I would repeat the same once more in Latin words: but I was sorely overheated by reason of the throng, and from standing below the princes. Then said Frederick von Thunau, If you cannot do it, Sir Doctor, that is enough. However, I repeated every word in Latin; this pleased Duke Frederick the elector exceedingly well.\*

All this was uttered by Luther in the most humble and submissive manner. He elevated his voice but little in speaking, evinced no passion, but spoke courteously, modestly, and discreetly throughout, but with great cheerfulness and resolution. But when the official of Treves now interposed, and sharply demanded a plain direct answer, Luther replied: "Since then your highnesses demand of me a simple, unequivocal, and direct answer, I will give you this, which has neither teeth nor horns; I believe neither pope nor councils alone, since it is clear as day that they have often erred, and contradicted themselves. Therefore, until I am overcome and convinced by testimony of holy Scripture, or by open, plain, and clear grounds of reason, my belief is so confirmed by the passages I have produced, and my conscience so bound by the word of God, that I cannot and will not retract any thing. Here I stand: I cannot do otherwise. May God help me! Amen."

"When I had thus spoken, (says Luther in his narrative,) I was permitted to withdraw, and two persons were appointed to accompany me. Upon this a tumult was excited, and some of the nobles cried out to inquire whether I was led out under arrest; but I replied that these simply accompanied me. And so I came again to my lodging, and returned no more to the imperial council."

The cheerful confession of the truth which Luther here made in the face of the whole German empire, won him the hearts of many nobles and princes, even those who subsequently did not stand firm in professing the gospel, and also such as for other reasons had hitherto concealed their approbation. The old Duke Erich of Brunswick sent him for his refreshment a silver tankard of Einbeck beer.

\* It is to be regarded as a mere failure of memory, when Spalatin, otherwise well informed, says: "Luther made his speech first in Latin, then in German."

Luther asked what prince it was who showed him this grace, and when he was told who it was, and that he had previously drunk out of the tankard, he was relieved from all suspicion, and said while he partook of it: "As Duke Erich has remembered me to-day, so may our Lord Christ remember him in his final conflict." The duke called to mind these words in his last moments, and desired Francis von Kramm, one of the pages who attended at his bedside, to strengthen him with evangelical consolation.\* It is certainly true, says the excellent Spalatin, that God honoured Doctor Martin in such manner at the diet, that he was the object of greater attention than all the princes and gentry. As long as he sojourned at Worms, his inn was full of people. Beside other counts and gentlemen, I have with my own eyes seen at his lodgings, Philip, landgrave of Hesse; William, duke of Brunswick; and Count William, of Henneberg. And our gracious Duke Frederick, elector of Saxony, was so full of admiration at the Christian, intrepid answer of Doctor Martin, uttered both in German and Latin before his imperial majesty and the high estates of the empire, that just before supper, as he was about to retire to the bath, casting his eye on me, he gave me a sign to follow him into his closet, and when I entered, his grace said, with every mark of admiration, "Well indeed has Father Martin spoken before the emperor and the estates of the empire; perhaps with too much fire." "My noble master (added Spalatin) was somewhat timorous; for while he certainly loved Doctor Martin, and would have suffered greatly if any evil had befallen him, and also was unwilling to offend against the truth of God, still he was not prepared to commit himself with the emperor."

We perceive how truly Luther's affairs were an object of the elector's care and attention, from certain letters which this prince wrote with his own hand, during the diet, to his brother John. In one of these, dated January 16th, and of course before Luther was cited, he says, among other things, that he discerns how Luther is daily plotted against, in order that he may be put under the ban of outlawry by the pope and the emperor, and that every means was employed to get him into their power. "This," he adds, "is the work of the men who swagger in red hats, and the Romans with their retainers." He farther says, that on that very day the Landgrave Philip had arrived with six hundred horsemen, many of them valiant men, and that this prince had immediately come to see him, and his father-in-law, Duke George. The latter conversed in a friendly way with the elector. How his heart really stands, he adds, God only knows. On the 30th of January he writes that Martin's affairs were in the same condition as when he had lately written, but he hoped that God's truth would eventually come to light. In another letter of March 25th, he laments the onerous business to which he was subjected, and that he spends eight or nine hours every day in the council-hall. "Doctor Martin is cited hither, but I know not whether he will come. Every thing goes on tediously, and I am unable to promise much good." On the 16th of April, he writes, "I know not whether Luther will come; orders have been promulged against him:" meaning those concerning the surrender

\* Seckendorf, German, p. 354.



of his books. "The cardinals and bishops are sternly opposed to him; may God turn all to the best! Would God I could render Martin some service; I should not fail so to do." On the 23d of April, when Luther had been admitted to his audience, he writes, "If it lay in my power I would gladly uphold Luther in every thing righteous. I assure you that you would be astonished if I were to relate how I have been harassed on account of these matters. It seems that they have no other intention than to hunt him down, and drive him to extremity. Whoever betrays the least favor toward him is accounted a heretic. May God, who surely will not forsake the righteous cause, direct it for the best! Concerning his discharge I will write in my next." On the 5th of May; "Martin's affairs have come to such a pass that he must be driven into exile; it cannot be prevented; but the event is with God. If by God's help I come to you, I will relate wonders. For you must know that not only Annas and Caiaphas, but also Pilate and Herod, are against Luther."\*

Not long after this, farther attempts were made by various persons to induce Luther to recant. Among these was the popish theologian Cochlaeus; (his true name was Loffelmann, or Löffler, and Luther often called him Rotzloffel, or *impertinent coxcomb*;) he was afterward Luther's bitter enemy, although he made a merit of having shed tears in the greatness of his desire that the recantation should take place. There were not a few who thought that the best way of dealing with Luther was to deny him a safe-conduct on his return.† Among these was the elector of Brandenburg; but not only the emperor and elector Palatine, but also, strange to say, Duke George of Saxony, resolutely opposed this. In this controversy, Louis, the elector Palatine, with whom, as Mathesius says, German tranquillity and peace were buried, fell into such a quarrel with Joachim, the elector of Brandenburg, that, as Luther relates, they drew their knives. Duke George declared frankly that the princes of Germany would never allow so gross a scandal as that a safe-conduct should be violated, at the very first diet of their emperor; that this was not consistent with ancient German honor; what one promises he must perform. This was well said, and in a princely spirit, though by one who in other respects was a zealous foe.

It was still hoped that Luther might be influenced by private conversation. In a conference of this nature, in which Richard, archbishop of Treves; Joachim, elector of Brandenburg; Duke George, and certain counts and imperial delegates took part, Dr. Vehus, chancellor of Baden, led the discourse; and afterward the elector of Treves took him into a chamber apart, where were present Cochlaeus and the official Eck. On the next day, April 25th, Vehus brought forward the same business, morning and afternoon, with Dr. Peutingier. But the elector Frederick was unwilling that Luther should deal with these alone, and sent some of his own council. Finally, the archbishop of Treves undertook the matter himself, on which occasion Luther said that he knew no better

\* Seckend. Weim. Arch., Lat., p. 158; Germ., p. 365.

† Sleidan. I, p. 148.

advice than that of Gamaliel: "If this council or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it." He added, "If my work be not of God, it can endure only two or three years; but if it be of God, it cannot be overthrown." And when the elector inquired whether something could not be effected as to the recantation of certain articles, Luther answered, "Yes, gracious sir, provided they are not those which were condemned at Constance." "Those," said the elector, "are the very articles I intend." "As to these," said Luther, "I cannot move, happen what may."<sup>\*</sup>

At length the desired discharge from Worms was granted to him. The official of the electorate of Treves and the emperor's private secretary explained to him that, as he had refused to yield himself to the unity of the church, notwithstanding many admonitions, their majesties must henceforth regard their character as defenders of the catholic faith; they therefore commanded him to betake himself to some place of safety, under safe conduct, within twenty-one days, and meanwhile not to disturb the people by preaching or writing. Luther answered, "As it seemed good unto the Lord so hath it happened: blessed be the name of the Lord." He farther gave hearty thanks to the emperor, electors, and princes of the empire, in the most humble and submissive terms, for the audience he had enjoyed, and for the safe conduct which had been accorded to him and was now continued. For he said he had sought nothing save that the Reformation, according to holy Scripture, for which he had been instant in prayer, should be set on foot and completed. In all things else, he was ready to do and suffer any thing for their majesties and the empire; life and death, honor and disgrace, and to count all these nothing, if only he might freely declare the word of God. And finally he solemnly and respectfully recognised his entire subjection to the emperor and the realm.<sup>†</sup>

In this manner Luther left Worms on the 26th of April, taking leave of his friends after an early meal. From Friedberg, where he arrived on the 28th, he sent back the herald who had accompanied him, being now in the Hessian territory; and gave him two letters, of which one was to the emperor, and the other to the states of the empire. In these, after a relation of all that had occurred at Worms, he laments that his doctrine had not been examined by means of the Scriptures, and renders courteous thanks for the *salvum conductum*. He concludes his letter to the emperor with these words: "These things I pray most submissively, not in my own name merely, for I am of no account, but in the name of the whole church; which has also moved me to send back this letter. For with all my heart I desire that your imperial majesty, the whole empire, and the illustrious German nation may be prosperously directed, and kept happy in the grace of God. Nor have I hitherto sought any thing but God's glory and the common salvation of all, not consulting my own profit; whether my adversaries condemned me or not. For if my Lord prayed for his enemies when he was upon the cross, how much rather ought I, with joy and trust in Christ, to be solicitous, to pray and to supplicate for

\* Spalatin, I, p. 46.

† Spalatin, I, p. 48.

your majesty, for the whole empire, and for my dear progenitors and the whole German nation, for whom I entertain every good hope, confiding in the foregoing representation."\*

At his departure from Worms he was strictly commanded to forbear preaching; but he by no means consented to this condition, reserving to himself that God's word should not be bound, and that he should be free to profess and declare it. He therefore preached at Kirschfeld; where the abbot, who was a Benedictine, and one of the princes of the empire, received him with extraordinary honor, and even constrained him to preach, although Luther reminded him that he might thereby lose his abbacy. At Eisenach also he delivered a discourse. As he now turned aside from his course in order to visit certain friends near Salzungen, he was suddenly seized by a number of horsemen in disguise, taken out of his wagon, set on a horse, and after a circuit of some hours, in the forest, brought about eleven o'clock at night to the castle of Wartburg, near Eisenach. It was here that the ancient landgraves of Thuringia had their residence. Luther soon found that his captors were kind foes, acting agreeably to a plan of the elector, and with the privity of John of Berlepsch, governor at Wartburg, and Burkhard Hund, lord of Altenstein and Waltershausen.

The emperor being a young Spaniard, rather than a German, perpetually surrounded by foreigners, and practised upon by the popish legates, had sent a schedule to the diet, immediately upon Luther's audience, of the following import: "Inasmuch as Luther will not retract, the emperor, following the example of his predecessors, must defend the ancient faith, and the see of Rome, and pronounce a ban upon Luther and his adherents, nevertheless securing their safe conduct."†

As the young and impetuous prince, however, acted in this matter contrary to all the precedents of the diet, and without previously collecting the suffrages of the princes, it was deemed proper to take the business into consideration. Yet this sufficiently evinced the mind of the emperor and of his advisers, and what might be expected to ensue.

The elector of Saxony, on account of indisposition, had left Worms, and a number of other princes had also departed. The emperor passed immediately into Spain, where war and insurrection required his presence.‡ On the 26th of May this imperial edict was published, bearing the appearance much more of a papal bull than a decree of the empire. By virtue of this, Luther (and his adherents were included) was declared to be an open heretic, under ban and outlawry; his books were prohibited, and all who should protect him were subjected to the same penalty. All his crimes are rehearsed, and his books and their theological contents reviewed. Among other things it is said that Luther's doctrine is contrary to the doctrine of the seven sacraments, of holy matrimony, the holy eucharist, confession, priestly orders, the see of Rome, the mass, fasting and prayer, the fathers and councils.

\* We have, of course, preferred the original Latin letter, De Wette, vol. i, ep. 312, date Ap. 28, 1521.

† Seckendorf, p. 355.

‡ Sleidan, p. 170; Robertson, ii, p. 250.



Moreover, he had written nothing but what tended to uproar, discord, war, murder, robbery, conflagration, and the total downfall of the Christian faith. For he inculcated a licentious, self-willed life, loosed from all law, utterly brutish,—showing himself to be a licentious, self-willed, and brutish man, who condemned and trampled on all laws, as he had been neither ashamed nor afraid to denounce decrees and spiritual enactments. “And, in fine, to omit the remainder of Luther’s innumerable wickednesses, he has, not like a man, but rather the evil spirit himself, in man’s form and with the assumption of a monkish cowl, gathered together sundry gross, long-hidden, and condemned heresies of many heretics, into one stinking pool, and added to these others of his own invention; and all this under pretext of preaching that faith which he uses his utmost labor to impair, and under the name and guise of evangelical doctrine to overturn and suppress all evangelical peace, love, and good order.” It was also said that the powers now convened at Worms had agitated the subject with the greatest care, and with the clearest determination had concurred in this decision.\* But in reality the diet had been already dissolved with all formality before this edict saw the light. The subsequent meetings of those who adhered to it were held not in the council-hall, but in the emperor’s private chamber. They moreover appended to the edict the date of May 8, to cause a belief that the assembled electors, princes, and states of the empire had taken part in it. That this could never have been the case, is plain enough from the nature of the transaction, and still more from the unfavorable reception which the edict met almost throughout all Germany, even before the ink with which it was written was dry, as the Cardinal Julius de Medici, afterward Pope Clement VII., expressed himself. Sleidan says explicitly that it was the work of a few.† The contents and temper of the instrument may be judged by any one who is informed that it was drafted by Aleander.‡ He had here expressed and made public, as if officially, all the venom which had been boiling in his breast. For what though a league of more than four hundred nobles (as Pallavicini relates) was formed for Luther, or that the troops of Francis of Sickingen were in readiness, or that Hartmuth of Kronenberg, one of the most accomplished cavaliers of the age, had in utter disgust renounced his service to the emperor, which had brought him in two hundred ducats; still, as this imperial-papal edict exactly reached the end of setting the German princes with their people at variance among themselves, it accomplished precisely what Aleander had intended and declared: “Even though you Germans choose to cast off the Roman yoke, we shall nevertheless effect such a havoc in Germany by this edict, that you will tear one another to pieces, and be strangled in your own blood.”§ It was not, as Frederick Schlegel says,|| Luther’s appearance at the diet, but

\* Luth. Op. XV, 2264.

† Sleidan, p. 163.

‡ Sarpi Hist. du Conc. de Trente. ed. le Courayer. I, 35.

§ Seckend., Lat., I, p. 158. Eia, si nihil adeo præclare his Comitibus effecimus, tamen certum est, nos magnum hoc edicto in Germania laniam concitare, qua Alemanni, ipsi in viscera sua sævientes propediem in proprio sanguine suffocantur. Scult. Annal. I, p. 75.

|| Vorlesungen u. d. neuere Geschichte.

the manner in which he was treated, that gave the first occasion for the dissolution of the German empire, and the disruption of the German people, which of necessity took place afterward. At this diet there was seen no vestige of ancient German freedom, and of the laudable institution which made such diets truly national councils; for in order that it might not consist of mere secular lords and stupid dunces, there sat in the princes' council archbishops, bishops, and abbots.\* But it was their duty to consult for the well-being of church and state in the German empire, and seriously and intelligently to discuss religious affairs. Even if this was not the proper time for disputation, yet both time and place were in the highest degree proper for considering the spiritual and eternal welfare of the German states, connected as for centuries this had been with their external prosperity. From the tenor of the imperial writs it had been expected that these religious affairs would constitute a leading topic of the discussions; for the words of the emperor imported that the diet was convened almost solely for this end. But now at length this edict was fabricated at the very close, as something supplementary; it was done in darkness, in a partial manner, and by few persons, and was then promulgated as the decision of the diet. "What grief has been experienced," says Ulrich von Hutten in a frank epistle to the noble Counsellor Pirkheimer, of Nuremberg, "by every German heart, at the wretched issue of this diet. His refusal to retract is enough, it seems, to subject this man of God to extreme condemnation. Blessed God! where will these things end? I truly believe that it will now be made apparent, whether Germany is governed by princes, or by well-dressed stocks. For the ecclesiastics determine nothing in Luther's case but superlative wickedness and villany. Over Luther's last letter to me, I could do nothing but weep, when I read how unjustly he had been treated. Among other things, this was one, that he received his discharge under a command not to preach the word of God on his way home. O abominable outrage! O crime demanding the remediless wrath of God! thus to trammel God's word, and to stop the mouth of an evangelical teacher. Look to this, ye Christian princes! What will foreign countries say of this? I blush for the land of my fathers."†

In the preface to the Exposition of the 37th Psalm, Luther himself speaks thus concerning the transactions at Worms. "What a mockery have they introduced! I had hoped that the doctors and bishops there present would have given me a righteous examination; instead of this, the sole judgment was that I must recant. Through God's grace, this proposal was not agreed to by all the princes and nobles, or I should have been mortally ashamed of Germany, that she should have yielded herself to be thus befooled by the popish tyranny." He also wrote to Master Lucas Kranach, the artist, then at Wittenberg: "I supposed that his imperial majesty would have convened some fifty doctors, and have clearly refuted the monk. Instead of this, the whole transaction was no more than this, *Are the books thine?—Yes.—Wilt thou*

\* Beside the emperor and the Archduke Ferdinand, there were six electors, who were also prelates, twenty-four dukes, eight margraves, thirty bishops, &c.

† Luth. Works, XV, p. 2322.

*recant or not?—No.—Away with thee.* Alas for us blind Germans!"\* And farther to Spalatin: "It is no wonder that Charles is involved in war. The unhappy young man, who at Worms, at the instigation of evil counsellors, openly rejected the truth, will never more have prosperity, and will receive his punishment in the wickedness of foreigners; he will also involve Germany in his disaster, since she concurred in his ungodliness. But the Lord knoweth them that are his."

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From the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.

#### OLD METHODISM.

"Thus saith the Lord, Stand in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein; and ye shall find rest to your souls."

A LIVING divine, of great celebrity, has described Methodism as "Christianity in earnest;" a description which public opinion proves to be no less just than laudatory. Whenever any man, in any country, professes to feel the constraining power of divine love, and under its influence zealously devotes himself to the service of God, and the salvation of his fellow-creatures, he is forthwith styled a "Methodist." This general and instinctive proneness to identify whatever savours of experimental religion, or is singularly holy and benevolent in human conduct, with our connectional name, is highly honourable to the morality and piety of our people: and our heart's desire is, that we may more fully deserve the distinction, whether it be awarded in the spirit of eulogy or of scorn.

Religion is the life of God in the soul. The change which it effects in its subjects is fitly represented as a "regeneration;" by which "all things are made new;" as a "passing from death unto life," and from a state of "bondage" into "glorious liberty." Being quickened by the Spirit of life, and stimulated by the lofty motives of the gospel, those who experience this change are led to deny themselves of all "ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." They "lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset" them; and they "run with patience the race which is set before" them, "looking unto Jesus."

Among other branches of holy and self-denying conduct, in which the fathers of our Connection sedulously followed their divine Exemplar, was that of RISING EARLY TO ENGAGE IN DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES. The venerable Wesley regularly rose at four o'clock; and, with his zealous coadjutors in the work of the ministry, he ordinarily preached at five. In his Treatise on Christian Perfection, after enumerating various instances of enthusiasm, he says, "Others thought they had not so much need of hearing, and so grew slack in attending the morning preaching. O take warning, you who are concerned herein! You have listened to the voice of a stranger. Fly back to Christ, and keep in the good old way, which was 'once delivered to the saints;' the way that even a heathen bore testimony of: 'That the Christians rose early every day to sing hymns to Christ as

\* Luth. Works, XV, p. 2173.



God.' " His people, impressed by his appeals on this subject, and stimulated by examples so disinterested and influential, in like manner spurned the bed of sloth, rose with the dawn, and, congregating in the house of prayer, joyfully listened to the word of life, or joined in fervent supplications for the salvation of the ruined race. By means of these holy exercises their health was promoted, their term for labor was extended, their knowledge of divine things was increased, and their separation from the spirit and practices of the world was effectually secured. They were also made to feel that, in the estimation even of the ungodly, they stood fully committed to the cause of Christ; habits of self-denial and diligence were matured; and their devotional feelings were cherished and interwoven with their domestic arrangements and secular toil.

We are aware that, in the early periods of our history, the paucity of preachers, and the dearth of evangelical instruction, rendered these morning services more imperiously necessary to the carrying on of the work of God, than we can allege them to be in the present matured state of our discipline. But while this is conceded, we see weighty reasons why they should be patronised and perpetuated, as extraordinary and exciting helps to the devotion and zeal of the community. If we view them as a branch of that system of saving means which God so signally sanctioned in effecting the late revival, and which our fathers so highly prized, they merit our esteem, and ought not lightly to be laid aside. The prevalence of a mere Sabbath-day religion is a visible plague-spot on most of the churches in these lands; and we deem the services in question of great value, because of their tendency to cure this evil, by rendering piety habitual, and by teaching professors to mingle its comely and harmonizing manifestations with their every day business. The habits of the present generation manifestly veer to the side of softness and self-indulgence; and we, as conservators of whatever is calculated to renovate society, instead of DESTROYING, ought to STRENGTHEN, the defences against a tendency so corrupt, and so contrary to the religion of the cross. It is of vital importance to our spiritual prosperity, as a people, that our children and the junior members of our congregations should be taught to live by rule, to redeem the time, to improve their gifts, and familiarize themselves with the Holy Scriptures, and the cross-bearing part of the Redeemer's service; and what means, we ask, are more likely to secure these results than early rising and attendance on early worship? Many of our people are so engrossed with business, that, unless the door of the sanctuary be open in the morning, they are necessarily precluded from the possibility of uniting with their brethren in special intercession during the day; and, in times like the present, when iniquity abounds, and the love of many waxeth cold, it is unwise to neutralize the advocacy of any, even the meanest, among those who "pray for the peace of Jerusalem." The venerable men who are now at our head, bearing our banners, and guiding our counsels, were all trained to self-denial, and to habits of holy hardness, in their youth; and to this circumstance, under the divine blessing, much of that decision of character, Christian fortitude, deep piety, and ministerial usefulness, for which they have been so long famous, is doubtless traceable. Let their admiring sons in the gospel be prompt in imbibing

their spirit, and resolute in copying their example ; so shall they in their turn be hailed and loved as fathers in Christ, and as burning and shining lights in the household of God. This short-enduring life is the seed-time of eternity ; every moment is a deposit of incalculable value, because each in the series may prove the last. We have already wasted, not moments only, but months and years ; and seeing we shall have to give a strict account of the entire term, it is surely high time that we shake off dull sloth, and diligently improve the remnant.

It is with feelings of no ordinary satisfaction we record that these morning meetings are on the increase in our Israel ; and that the students in our Theological Institution are, for punctuality of attendance at their early service, patterns to the whole Connection. From this and other primitive arrangements connected with the government of that seminary, we confidently calculate on a material improvement in the piety and general efficiency of our ministry, invaluable and powerful as it now is. The revival of devotional practices, and of the spirit of self-denial, among the ministers and members of a Christian church, is at all times an omen for good, and a ground of joy ; but when it takes place at a conjuncture when extensive openings for usefulness present themselves ; when the enemies of truth and righteousness are compassing sea and land to make proselytes to skepticism and licentiousness, and are concentrating their forces against the cause of religious liberty and genuine piety ; it is then ground of greater joy, inasmuch as it becomes to the faithful what "the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry-trees" was to the army of Israel ; namely, the prelude of certain victory to them, and of final discomfiture to their foes.

There is, perhaps, no class of ministers in the land who preach so many sermons as ours, nor any community of Christians who hear so many sermons as we ; our desire, therefore, is, not that these early meetings should be converted into regular preaching services ; but rather that they be devoted to the *READING OF THE SCRIPTURES, WITH DEVOTIONAL REFLECTIONS, AND TO PRAYER.* General and religious knowledge has of late been widely diffused through the land, and our societies have shared its general increase ; what we especially want, therefore, is a deeper piety, a greater spirit of prayer, and a more intimate acquaintance with the oracles of God. The reading of the Scriptures was once much more common in our prayer meetings than at present ; and, were our ministers, or, in their absence, the senior leaders and local preachers, to recommence the practice where it has fallen into disuse, they would render good service to the best interests of the body. Some individuals will probably think that such a plan would diminish the "life" of our prayer meetings ; but for our part, we are very jealous of that kind of life which is liable to be cooled down by the reading of that word which was spoken by the "Lord of life," and which has proved "spirit and life" to tens of thousands now before the throne. Were those whose devotional habits are matured, merely to consult their individual pleasure and profit, they would probably prefer spending the morning hour in the solitude of the closet ; and were we satisfied they could find no other season for secret intercourse with God, we should hesitate to require the sacrifice at their hands. But, trusting that this is the case with only very

few, and convinced that the spiritual prosperity of multitudes in our Zion will be promoted by the services for which we plead, we earnestly entreat all, even the most established, whether ministers or members, to ponder the matter, to take up their cross; and, in this particular also, to become followers of those who, in answer to never ceasing prayer, are now inheriting the promises.

Just in proportion as other communities become animated with the spirit of religious revival, they institute special devotional meetings; and, could we imagine that there existed among us any thing like opposition to them, we should quail; regarding it as the evil omen of departing glory. But, from all we know of our beloved people, we feel assured that they are prepared, at the bidding, and in imitation of the example, of those who are over them in the Lord, to "abound in this grace also."

Mr. Wesley was remarkable for his punctuality in all things; and particularly in BEGINNING DIVINE WORSHIP PRECISELY AT THE APPOINTED TIME. Though his paternal relation to the united societies imposed on him the labors of an almost uninterrupted itinerancy; and though his journeys were often long, and many of the roads over which he travelled all but impassable; yet was he seldom later than the specified hour. Rather than keep a congregation waiting, he would stand up in the open air, or haste to the preaching house, after a fatiguing ride, perhaps through drenching rain, and, trusting in the living God, would seek refreshment in the exercises of prayer and praise, and in pointing perishing sinners to the Lamb of God. His preachers, and the mass of the people, admired and imitated his example. In all those places where the cause of Methodism had attained to any maturity, his congregations might have addressed him in the words of Cornelius to Peter, "We are all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God."

Many of our people, we joyfully acknowledge, are still highly exemplary in keeping up this decorous and primitive peculiarity; but the irregularity of others gives us pain, covers us with shame, and constitutes just ground of complaint. Were the worship of God a merely human invention, or were there no necessary connection between the prayerful use of ordinances and the salvation of the soul, we might regard this departure from godly order with indifference: but knowing that Jehovah will be "sanctified in them that come nigh" to Him; and remembering the frequent breaches which he made on Israel, because he was not sought "after the due order;" we tremble, lest that which was ordained to life should become an occasion of death to many who worship in our sanctuaries. The gospel is designed to be the power of God to our salvation; but, to make it so, the agency of the Holy Spirit is absolutely necessary; and for this, God will be "inquired of by the house of Israel." The most negligent among us would be greatly shocked, were our ministers formally to discard from the sanctuary service the reading of the Scriptures; and still more so, were they to commence preaching without previously invoking the blessing of God on themselves and their hearers: yet our late attendance plainly indicates that, in our opinion, the reading of the Scriptures is an unimportant exercise, and that prayer is not essential to the success of the ministry. We specify but a few



of the melancholy effects of late and irregular attendance on the ordinances of God, when we say that it generates disorderly habits in families and individuals, weakens respect for the forms and decencies of divine worship, induces hurry and distraction of mind, grieves the Holy Spirit, neutralizes the efficacy of the gospel, causes the faithful to "weep in secret places," and confirms those who value neither the form nor the power of godliness in their unbelief and impiety. On the other hand, the advantages of an early and devout attendance are both numerous and invaluable. By this means family arrangements and personal habits are subordinated to the will and worship of God; solemnity of mind is promoted; children and servants are impressed with feelings of reverence for the Sabbath and its blessed services; ministers are encouraged and assisted in the performance of their onerous duties: the character of the church is exalted in the eyes of the world; the blessing of the Most High is secured; and the conversion of sinners follows as a natural consequence. Our obligations to punctuality and fidelity in this duty are found in the injunctions of Scripture, the examples of such as excel in virtue, the nature of true religion, and the majesty and glorious attributes of the Being we worship, and on whom we are dependant for life and breath and all things. The most regular and conscientious worshipper may be too late on some rare occasion; but to be so generally, and after instruction and reproof have been administered, is an inexcusable negligence, and argues much mental blindness, and great contempt for sacred things. We are not ignorant of the subtleties under which such persons hide themselves; but, as these are known to be what their name imports, we think it unnecessary to expose their futility; and, in conclusion, we beseech all, and especially those parents who are faulty in this particular, to examine whether an irregularity so distracting to others, and so disreputable to themselves, is really necessary? whether perseverance in it will afford comfort on a bed of death, or cause joy in the day of judgment? and whether the wickedness which is in the world, the militant circumstances of Zion, the leanness of their own souls, and the low state of religion in their families, are not reasons which should rouse to instant reformation? The injury they have done to their ministers, their fellow-worshippers, and the interests of piety in the church, is great: and if they would not constrain God to "curse their blessings," and leave them to cry in death, "The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved," they must amend their ways and their doings.

To escape the odium, and, as it then seemed, the evil, of preaching in church hours, and at the same time to furnish the means of salvation to the thousands who were without, Mr. Wesley, at an early period of his itinerancy, commenced the practice of calling sinners to repentance on the evening of the Lord's day. As the places of worship in the land were then generally closed, multitudes of all classes and characters flocked to hear; many were saved; and the beneficial effects becoming every day more apparent, the new service was perpetuated in the Connection. Perhaps no branch of the Methodist economy has tended more to increase the societies and benefit the nation, than these Sunday evening sermons; and the secret of their

great success, subject to the power of the Spirit, has been their awakening and strictly evangelical character. On these occasions especially, our founder and his fellow-labourers purposely made the simplicities of the gospel the theme of their discourses. Their chief aim was to find their way directly to the hearts of their hearers; and to bring the controversy between God and them, in all the magnitude of its cause and final results, to bear on their consciences; urging at one time the greatness of their guilt, and the imminence of their danger; and at another, or rather in the same breath, affectionately plying them with the invitations of mercy, the expostulations of slighted love, and the assurances of a gracious reception through faith in the Redeemer. Their ministry was eminently a "ministry of reconciliation." Instead of waiting for the excitement and unction of an after prayer meeting, as necessary to the sinner's closing with Christ, they believed that the Holy Ghost could effect the work by the word of faith as it fell from their lips. Knowing the infinite love and merit of the Saviour whom they preached, they aimed at the conversion of all who heard them, they exhorted the convinced to expect salvation now, and boldly trusted that the breath divine would descend on the dry bones while they were prophesying.

Such was—and, we are happy to add, such is still—the general character of our Sunday evening preaching. And as multitudes of the unregenerate continue to crowd to these services, in expectation of having their sins reprov'd, their wandering steps directed, and their galled guilty consciences eased, we hope that no motives of delicacy, no fear of giving offence, no favourite scheme of prophetic interpretation, no fastidious criticisms from those who stigmatize such preaching as "lean and legal," as "a ministry of terror," and as a "dealing in fire and brimstone," will ever induce our ministers to deviate from the model which Wesley, Walsh, Benson, Clarke, and others, have left them. Such a style of preaching is not only necessary to rouse the careless, the profligate, and the self-righteous, but it exerts a healthful influence on believers, by reminding them of the rock from whence they were hewn, and the hole of the pit from whence they were digged; as well as awakening their caution, and stimulating their zeal and compassion in behalf of the perishing multitudes around. It is a great mistake to suppose that an awakening ministry must be shallow and declamatory; and that, as ministers become mature in knowledge and experience, they will, as a matter of course, confine their ministrations to such themes and subjects as are fitted only for the building up of believers. Declamation is not necessarily connected with the elucidation of any class of divine truths; and mere common-place remark ought never to disfigure the discourses of the man whose business and privilege it is to dig for knowledge in the exhaustless mine of eternal truth. It is given in commission to each ambassador of the cross, that he preach Christ fully; that he declare the whole counsel of God; and not only comfort pious people, but warn the wicked of his evil way, that he turn from it on pain of dying the death. The curse and the blessing, the law and the gospel, are equally divine; and will be alternately employed by the pastor who longs for the recovery of the lost, the increase of the flock, and the approbation of the chief Shepherd.

We humbly suggest, whether the ends of the Christian ministry would not be secured to a greater extent, if the reading of the Scriptures were made a part of our Sunday evening service?

The provision which Methodism has made for the spiritual profit of its adherents is no less judicious and abundant, than its plans for benefiting the world are expansive and benevolent. The classes and bands, together with the love-feasts and society-meetings, are all admirably adapted to afford that varied counsel, friendly caution, and manifold encouragement, which the members in their diversified circumstances require, and which cannot always be furnished in language sufficiently simple, or in a manner sufficiently direct, by means of public discourses. They serve also to unite the people in the bonds of a divine friendship, to place them on their guard against lukewarmness and other occasions of apostasy, to augment the stock of their saving knowledge, to promote the cultivation of their talents, and excite their pity for the feeble and the fallen. In all those churches in which reviving visitations have not been improved by the adoption of select meetings, in which the agency employed has been exclusively public, and in which the subjects of divine influence have not been separated from the world, and taught to retire within the veil, to commune with God and with such as "abide under his shadow," the Spirit has been grieved, the glory has departed, and a wintry sterility has again prevailed. Whereas in our community, (all praise to God!) the revival which gave existence to our societies has advanced from age to age; and, to the present, the dews of divine influence fall richly on each little hill of our Zion; the Sun of Righteousness shines with increasing brightness; and, notwithstanding the desolation caused in some quarters by recent storms, scenes abounding in the beauty and fruitfulness of a divine prosperity spread before our delighted eyes.

In all this we rejoice; and, rejoicing, are justly jealous of every thing which appears to indicate indifference to a class of means so owned of God, so scriptural in their constitution, and so singularly felicitous in their results; a class which we believe to be no less necessary to the thorough leavening of the world with the renovating influence of the gospel, than they are to the purification and enlargement of the Christian church. Men of all ranks and professions, from the rulers of nations down to the lowest mechanics, find it necessary to unite for the purpose of taking counsel how to reach perfection in their several callings, secure success in their various enterprises, overcome the difficulties with which they have to contend, and counterwork the opponents who labour to thwart their designs. The necessity of these associations is felt by all, and their advantages are shared by all. If it be necessary for the children of this world to hold consultations, and to borrow mutual aid for the accomplishment of their terrene and ephemeral purposes, how much more for believers! The loftiest design which the mere man of the world ever frames is mean, and the most Herculean labour in which he engages is childish, when compared with the labours and designs of the true Christian. The one builds for time, the other for eternity; the one pants for the praise of men, the other endeavours to deserve the approbation of God; the one is busied about affairs which he may manage, understand, and secure, without supernatural aid or teaching, whereas the other is occupied about subjects of eternal moment, which no man can either



secure, relish, or understand, without the assistance and counsel of Almighty God. In worldly associations, there are of necessity many rival interests, selfish feelings, and envious desires; because the successes of one are frequently based on the disasters of another; and the accumulation of one man's property leads to the deepening of another's poverty. But in the religion of Jesus there are no rival interests, and there is no selfish monopoly. On the contrary, it is designed to destroy envy, jealousy, and wrath from the heart of universal man; it teaches us to regard every man as our brother, and annexes a reward to each tear we shed over his misery, to each gift we bestow for the relief of his poverty, and to every word we utter with an intent to promote his edification. It first gives existence to brotherly love, and then bestows a bounty on its continued exercise. Christians are one body, actuated by one spirit; having "one faith, one hope, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in them all." They, therefore, act in character when they meet together, to "confess their faults one to another;" to "pray for one another, that" they "may be healed;" to "weep with them that weep, and to rejoice with them that do rejoice;" to "declare what God hath done for" their souls; and to "exhort and provoke one another to love and to good works." Not only so, but those who forsake the assembling of themselves together for these benign purposes, on account of worldly engagements, pleasurable pursuits, family prejudices, or personal grievances, render their piety questionable, and prove that the influence which Christianity exerts on their minds is only partial.

Mr. Wesley's uniform testimony was, that, wherever these social services were slighted, the work of God declined. "If you would avoid the sin of schism," he says, "observe every rule of the society and of the bands, for conscience sake. Never omit meeting your class or band; never absent yourself from any public meeting. These are the very sinews of our societies; and whatever weakens or tends to weaken our regard for these, or our exactness in attending them, strikes at the very root of our community. As one saith, 'That part of our economy, the private weekly meetings for prayer, examination, and particular exhortation, has been the greatest means of deepening and confirming every blessing that was received by the word preached, and of diffusing it to others, who could not attend the public ministry; whereas, without this religious connection and intercourse, the most ardent attempts by mere preaching have proved of no lasting use.' " As far as our observations have reached, the more recent history of the Connection fully corroborates these statements: and the reason is obvious. When these scriptural usages are neglected, the authority of God is contemned, the example of Christ and of his holy apostles is disregarded, the promptings of the Spirit of unity and love are resisted, and on all these accounts he is grieved and eventually withdrawn. Were the members of a family never to taste domestic joys, or share domestic griefs, except in the presence of strangers, their home attachments would insensibly cool; the tender sensibilities of brothers and sisters would settle down into the inert virtues of a conventional courtesy; and the enthusiasm with which they once united to maintain the untarnished lustre of the family fame, and repel the open or the secret assaults on the family peace, would ere long evaporate into mere general regards, formal professions, and selfish expe-

diency. In like manner, were the members of our societies never to meet but under the gaze of the world, and never to commune but on themes so common that all might hear, brotherly love would soon be blighted, and its finer manifestations entirely prevented. We might, indeed, boastfully point to our temples, saying, "See, what manner of stones and what buildings are here;" but we should cease to rejoice in them as the dwellings of our God, and the birth-places of our souls. The embassy of the Lord might still be proclaimed in our ears; but, instead of greeting the faithful ambassador with the prophetic welcome, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings!" we should either slight his entreaties, or count him our enemy because of the truth which he fearlessly proclaimed. Under such a relaxation of discipline, apostasies would doubtless take place, but they would cause no grief; conversions might happen, but they would kindle no joy; penitents would be left to sorrow, saying, "No man careth for my soul;" and the faithful, finding their numbers, their influence, and their opportunities of usefulness, diminishing, would weep and refuse to be comforted. The wreck which some churches have suffered, and the lukewarm state into which others have fallen, prove the possibility of this fearful consummation; and all who deprecate even a distant approximation to it on our part, ought to set an example of punctual and devout attendance on our social meetings. The great Head of the church obviously intended that the Methodists should stand as "lights in a benighted land;" but, to be such, we must trim our lamps with more than ordinary diligence, and wait upon the Lord for fresh oil, in the spirit of watchfulness and persevering prayer. Having received more than others in the form of privilege, we must do more in the way of duty; otherwise the grants of benevolence will be forfeited, and he, "in whom we live, and move, and have our" connectional "being," will raise up another people, who will be more exemplary in showing forth his praises, and in carrying out his designs.

The importance which Mr. Wesley attached to CLASS MEETINGS may be estimated from the fact, that he made attendance on them a term of membership with the society. This circumstance strongly evinced his moral courage, his dread of worldly alliances, his faith in the converting power of the gospel, and his unwavering conviction that Methodism was the work of God. It also furnishes a complete refutation to the thousand allegations made in proof of his pride and ambition. Had he been ambitious, in the common acceptance of the word, would he have made and maintained an arrangement which fixed a great gulf between him and all who did not openly and consistently profess a determined desire to flee from the wrath to come? and which, in its efficacious working, deprived him annually of hundreds of disciples, many of them rich and influential, whose greatest sin was indifference in the business of personal salvation? To reap the full benefit of those meetings, great care must be taken not to "cast our pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend" us. Those only who fear and love God can appreciate and improve statements relative to the soul's conflict with the powers of darkness, or to its intercourse with the God of love. We deprecate the admission of unawakened persons to the enjoyment of our church privileges, as an evil which, independently of the prostitution of sacred things that it implies, leads to unholy

partnerships and unscriptural marriages, furnishes the hypocrite with a cloak whereby to deceive, lays the truly pious under restraint, places a stumbling-block in the way of the blind, and prevents the Lord of hosts from going forth to battle with the army of our Israel. The guardians of our discipline, whether ministers or class leaders, cannot be too vigilant on this point. The church is God's temple; and no man can innocently and with impunity introduce, or take measures to retain, the unclean within its sacred precincts. While, therefore, we afford the utmost encouragement to such as mourn after God, to attend our classes, let us, on no account, bring in the scoffer, or him that is at ease in Zion.

Whether we consider religion as a system of truth, which is to be studied and believed; or as a divine directory, the precepts of which are to be obeyed; or as a gracious economy, the provisions of which are to be received and enjoyed; it exhibits a sublimity of design, and an amplitude of detail, in respect of motive, duty, and privilege, more than sufficient to engage the mind, excite the energies, inspire the songs, and satisfy the desires, of the highest archangel before the throne. While this is admitted, it cannot be denied that there is a proneness in religious persons to slide into a formal and superficial mode of speaking on religious subjects, and particularly in stating Christian experience; a mode which is injurious to themselves, unedifying to others, and embarrassing to their spiritual guides. To avoid this evil, we must watch unto prayer, search the Scriptures, practise self-examination, and carefully improve passing events by subordinating them to the advancement of our high calling. Before we meet our brethren in class, let us secure time for a solemn review of our walk with God, our intercourse with the world, and the workings of our affections in relation to friends and foes, to the present and the future world. If our joy abound, we should point to its source; if we have suffered loss, we should acknowledge the fact, and refer to the reason; and if our feet have been placed on the necks of our enemies, we should state the means, as well as the enriching effects, of our triumph. Let us never hide our religious enjoyments from a fear they should prove transient; neither shut up the floods of our grief, through a dread that others will be discouraged. If we be scrupulously honest in our statements, we shall sometimes have but little to say, and that little will be of an abasing character; but on other occasions we shall have to tell of manifestations beyond what language can express. Whether we speak of our temptations, labors, sufferings, or joys, let us never indulge in the language of exaggeration; never aim at display, or try to excite astonishment in the minds of our brethren; but recollecting that our good is all divine, let us reverently and joyfully give the undivided glory to the Triune Jehovah, to whom alone it appertains.

Though the class meetings are invaluable, the number of the members, and the necessary brevity of the time allotted for the relation of experience and the giving of advice, render a full development of the soul's case, in the aboundings of its joys and griefs,—its hopes, fears, and mingled perplexities,—impossible, if not improper. To obviate this disadvantage, and furnish such as were on stretch for full salvation with all the privileges of an enlightened, holy, and confiding



friendship, Mr. Wesley instituted minor meetings, called **BANDS**. These are more select than the classes, union with them not being essential to membership. The individuals who meet in each band are few, generally three, and seldom more than four, one of whom acts as leader or monitor; they meet weekly, and are always of the same sex, and ordinarily of the same station of life. The band rules and directions are peculiarly strict; and to all who are not determined to follow the Lord fully, they must prove irksome; but to such as live for God alone, and are content to practice a system of self-denial, involving total abstinence from worldly pleasures and expensive indulgences, they are not grievous. That man is little better than an outcast from society, who, though he has many acquaintances, has no friend to whom he can disclose the secrets of his soul, assured of disinterested gratulation in prosperity, and unfeigned sympathy in suffering; and though the true believer, especially if he be a member of our society, cannot be either solitary or unhappy, yet he wants an ingredient necessary to the completion of his joy, who has not found one or more of his Lord's disciples with whom he can take sweet counsel, and in whom he can repose a more than brotherly confidence. In band meetings we reap a double advantage over those men who merely keep a diary; for not only is our previous self-scrutiny rendered more complete by the relation of its results, but we hear the experience of our brethren, and receive such cautions and encouragements as our case requires, and as their love suggests. That meetings which require an unreserved disclosure of the sentiments and feelings of the heart, on all subjects cognizable by conscience, and affecting the interests of the soul in its intercourse with God, are liable to abuse, is manifest; and the knowledge of this liability sustained by some painful proofs that it is not ideal, and added to the fact, that one or two of the "directions" are, if not needlessly severe, wholly inapplicable to the present state of things, has prevented them from becoming either so popular or so numerous as it is desirable they should be. We regard them as a desideratum in Christian fellowship; and are free to testify, that the period during which we met in band was the holiest, the happiest, and the most useful portion of our Christian life: and the recollections of scenes and manifestations in the "upper room," impoverishing and enriching, instructive and exhilarating, abasing and emboldening, serves still to shed a cheering and healthful sunshine through our soul. Satisfied that the revival and increase of the meetings would be beneficial to our Sion, in these days of public excitement and antinomian delusion, we greatly desire that the committee appointed to review the minor branches of our discipline, would take their general constitution, together with the causes of their decline, into their serious consideration. If any of the rules and directions are really objectionable, let them be altered; if time and a change of circumstances have rendered others obsolete, let them be rescinded; and if additional guards be necessary to prevent abuse, let these be instituted: but let us on no account suffer to sink into decay meetings which our founder patronized, which the most devoted of our people have always esteemed, and which are so clearly sanctioned by Scripture examples and apostolic precept.

Our **LOVE-FEASTS**, it is well known, are held in imitation of the *agapæ* of the primitive Christians, though under a simpler form and a

more expressly religious character. They are, perhaps, the most popular and exciting of our social meetings; and while the work of conversion goes on in the Connection, they are sure to preserve their interest, and command our esteem. In them our veteran fathers were wont to speak at large of the debasing and torturing tyranny to which they were subjected while in the camp of the enemy, and of the liberty, peace, and joy they obtained by casting themselves on the Sacrifice, and by touching the golden sceptre of Immanuel. They dwelt with delight on the condescension and power of their conquering Captain, the impenetrable character of their shield, the ground they had won, the ambushes they had escaped, and the rebels they had subdued. And, to excite caution and circumspection in their less experienced fellow-soldiers, they were not backward to recount the wounds they had received, the devices by which they had been ensnared, and the shame with which, in some instances, they had been covered, through neglecting their Captain's commands, or by vainly presuming on their own strength. Having found the "living water, of which whosoever drinks shall never thirst," they deemed it their duty to make the fountain known, and the way to it plain. Having detected the world's vanity, after a laborious search, and a thousand expensive and painful experiments, they published the cheat; and having proved the power of Christ to forgive sins, and to make all things new, they magnified his love, commended his service, and encouraged the soul engulfed in grief to honour his name, by boldly venturing on the rock of his merit. None thought it vulgar to declare the lovingkindness of their Lord, or accounted it a grievous cross to confess Him who, in their cause, heroically went without the camp, bearing the sign of ignominy and the instrument of death.

If aught be wanting to make the love-feasts of the present day as interesting and edifying as those of primitive times, it is that our aged and influential members should take a more prominent part in the solemn service. Reason does not more clearly dictate that "age should speak," than that youth should listen and learn. Every incident connected with the formation of our societies, the persecutions of the preachers, and the conversion and experience of the worthies who are still permitted to rear their reverend heads in our assemblies, is of the utmost value to us "who are but of yesterday, and know nothing." We cannot hear too often, or too largely, of that experience which represents the love of God shed abroad in the heart, grace reigning over nature, the strength of God made perfect in human weakness, the knowledge of God illuminating our darkness, and the fulness of God filling our emptiness; which exhibits the truth of God tried, the glory of God seen, the goodness of God tasted, and the sufficiency of God experienced. These meetings have, from the beginning, been useful in drawing such of our hearers as were under conviction into acquaintance with our ministers, and ultimately into union with the society: and, to improve this happy tendency, it might be well if the names and residences of all who obtain notes of admission, and who have a work of grace on their hearts, were taken down, and apportioned among the preachers and leaders the ensuing week. By this arrangement, which has already been adopted in some circuits, the classes will be increased, the actual success of the ministry will be ascertained, impostors will be detected, and the wounded will

soon experience a cure. In our economy of church fellowship, love-feasts may be regarded as stimulants; and, to be permanently useful, they must not be made too common. The propriety of holding them quarterly, in our smaller chapels, may be fairly questioned; inasmuch as it adds to the Sunday engagements of the preachers, which are, in many circuits, already too numerous; interrupts the meeting of the classes, and the orderly discharge of Sunday school duties; nourishes a gadding, gossiping disposition, in such as prefer excitement to seclusion, and the opportunity of making a speech to the privilege of hearing a sermon; and above all, because it weakens the common sympathy and strong brotherly affection which have hitherto distinguished us as a people, and which are matured by a frequent union of the minor societies with the mother church. The practice of lending "society tickets" to persons whom our regulations exclude, was strongly reprobated by Mr. Wesley, who regarded it as a practical falsehood, and a gross deception on those appointed to guard the ordinances and privileges of the body. Viewed in the mildest form, it is "doing evil that good may come;" and, as the principle of such mistaken zeal has been denounced by the Holy Ghost, we trust the evil complained of, so far as it now exists, will be abandoned by all who desire their own or others' salvation.

The MEETINGS of the SOCIETY, which are devoted to exhortation and prayer, have been less frequently held of late years, than in primitive times; and we fear they are not so highly esteemed by the children as they were by the fathers. Formerly the announcement of a "society meeting" created feelings of gladness in every heart. It was regarded as a kind of family feast, to which all the members were invited, at which the father, rather than the preacher, presided; from which hatred, envy, and jealousy were banished, as by common consent, and in which love reigned, while holy cautions were administered, divine consolations imparted, godly instructions communicated, and various cases of conscience resolved, to the great joy of those who walked in darkness and had no light. For these services we know that several of the old preachers prepared themselves by much previous study; and none of the people who could remain thought of retiring till the whole was concluded. Serious members of the congregation were occasionally permitted to remain; and many of these, in succession, were not only led to exclaim, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity," but, resolving on an entire dedication of themselves to the Lord, they added, "This people shall be my people, and their God my God." Knowing to what an extent the Sunday engagements of our people have been increased since the establishment of Sunday schools and Tract Societies, we are at a loss what to recommend as a means of reviving these fruitful and truly Wesleyan meetings. It is well known that our ministers are in the habit of throwing the sum of their mental and physical energies into their Sunday evening discourses; and, after thus spending themselves, they generally hold a prayer meeting, often more exciting than the preceding service. Of their zeal for the salvation of the unconverted, we cannot but approve; yet, at the same time, we are of opinion that, in the result, it would be more profitable both to the church and the world, if, on every third or fourth Sunday night, they shortened the public service, and, in imitation of their



fathers, delivered to the society a short and well digested address on some relative duty, or on such of our rules as involve those minute points in Christian conduct and experience which do not ordinarily fall under pulpit discussion.

Mr. Wesley's views on all matters involving the salvation of man were generally far in advance of the prevailing opinions of his contemporaries. They were so particularly on the subject of TEMPERANCE. Though unaided by the influence and agency of any society having for its specific designs the extinction of intemperance, and the reformation of drunkards, he preached, wrote, and legislated on the subject with memorable decision and intelligence. He openly denounced ardent spirits as poison, dram-drinking as a practice which led to death and hell, and the trade of distillation as inflicting a flagrant outrage on the rights of God, the interests of the state, and the well-being of the bodies and souls of men. He required of all who were admitted into his societies, that they should "cease to do evil, and learn to do well;" and among other stipulations on which their continued membership was suspended, this was one,—that they should neither "buy nor sell spirituous liquors, nor drisk them, except in cases of extreme necessity."

For many years after this rule was promulgated, it was scouted by multitudes as a monastic enactment, alike inimical to health and to social intercourse; and the few who pledged themselves to its observance were regarded as aliens to all the amenities of friendship and good neighborhood. But since the investigation which the subject has received from the advocates of temperance, it has been lauded as oracular by thousands who have no connection with our community, but who are the flower of their respective churches, the friends of the poor, and the patrons of literature and science. In adopting the temperance principle, they did not design to put honour on our founder; but what of that? They have honoured truth, promoted the interests of morality, and contributed to remove a mountain barrier to the salvation of the outcasts of society. And though some of their associates have injured the cause they professed to uphold, not only by an indiscreet zeal, but by a relapse into their old ways, it cannot be denied that much light has been diffused, and that the tide of intemperance, which threatened a general inundation, has been stemmed, if it be not turned.

Though the Wesleyans of the present day are a temperate people, we cannot affirm that the rule in question is either generally enforced, or generally kept, in its literal and obvious meaning. A liberal but unauthorized interpretation has been put upon it, which has had the effect of making it, with many, a dead letter. This is ground of regret; but it affords us pleasure to add, that the number of those who act according to its strictest, and, as we think, its true import, is rapidly on the increase; and we trust the day is not distant when we shall be of one mind, and shall have but one way, in this great matter. While it is our settled conviction, that more of our ministers and members have been degraded by this sin than by any other, we wish distinctly to avow our belief, that our brethren who take the liberal side of the controversy, abhor intemperance, and deprecate the idea of their ever falling under the power of the evil, as heartily as we. What we say on the subject is not said to make them temperate, but

to keep them so; not to arrest them in an evil course, but to guard them against ever entering on one, and to excite them to adopt decisive measures to save those who are heedlessly following "the multitude to do evil." Neither do we desire that they should formally enrol themselves as members of the Temperance Society; but simply that, by keeping our own rule, they should redeem the Connection from the charge of inconsistency, and set an example to the church in all her sections, of a great Christian community uniting to deny themselves of a popular indulgence, and to rescue the nation from the fangs of a monster vice, which has long been preying on its physical, moral, and religious energies. No class of transgressors are more firmly tied and bound by the chain of sin, or are so generally chargeable with the guilt of resisting the Holy Ghost, as spirit-drinkers. When the habit is fully formed, their case is all but desperate; and we despair of rendering them permanently sober, unless we can instrumentally succeed in awakening their conscience, and inducing them to cry mightily to God to save them from hell, as well as from temporal ruin. On this account we are anxious that the temperance cause should be advocated in connection with "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ;" and that we, and the other churches, should make not only temperance in general, but abstinence from the sale and use of ardent spirit, a *bona fide* term of membership. In our case the task is easy, and the sacrifice would be inconsiderable.

Such a consummation as this is not only devoutly desired, but confidently anticipated; and, when it arrives, it will both deepen the tone of public morals, and augment the piety and usefulness of our community. If those professors who have hitherto used ardent spirits as a daily beverage, faithfully review their past life, they will find that the practice has, on some occasions, disqualified them from worshipping God in spirit, produced a sensible diminution of divine joy, led into unprofitable discourse, interrupted their plans of family and closet devotion, and in these and other ways grieved the Holy Spirit, whereby they were sealed. What has happened once may transpire again; and if, with the monitory experience of the past fresh in their recollection, they enter anew into temptation, God may deny them that aid to which their former escape was attributable: and should he do so, neither their sense of propriety, nor strength of principle, will save them; but their names will perish from the records of the church, and their memories be coupled with scenes of brutality and vice. "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." The stream of dissipation has carried down thousands who never intended to wade beyond its shallows. If confirmed drunkenness has in every instance been preceded by a habit of temperate drinking, who does not see that safety lies in abstinence? The man who trifles with strong drink may be overcome; whereas he who abstains cannot be overcome. If it is wise to guard our trading transactions with bills and bonds, and our dwellings with bolts and bars, it cannot be unwise to throw the guard of abstinence around our moral character and our spiritual interests.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is a precept no less binding in its obligation, than it is reasonable in its nature. And if we can prove that spirit-drinking squanders the property, depraves the reason, destroys the health, and ruins the soul of our neighbor, it

will follow, that it is our duty to discourage the practice by every means in our power. In the city of Glasgow, about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds are annually expended in the purchase of intoxicating liquors; and in the United Kingdom upwards of twenty millions are sacrificed to the same purpose. Were this sum employed in procuring food and other necessities, there would not be a shoeless woman, nor a starving man, nor an uneducated child, in all the land; but prostituted as it is, it renders the distress and the profligacy of the country tenfold more than they would have been, had the mighty sum been cast into the depth of the sea.

Dr. Johnson, for several years prior to his death, drank no wine; and the reason he assigned for his abstinence was, that "he loved to be always rational." At no period of his life did the doctor drink ardent spirits; and if his giant mind could not maintain its characteristic rationality under the fumes of wine, we need not wonder, though thousands, who, compared with him, are but children in understanding, are rendered maniacs through the use of strong drink. It appears, from the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the evils of intemperance, that one half of all the inmates in the largest lunatic asylums in the metropolis, and in provincial towns, have been deprived of reason by means of alcohol. This is an appalling fact; and yet it does not exhibit the whole truth. For all those acts of suicide which are committed during the early stages of the disease, as well as the cases of hereditary insanity brought on in the first instance by intemperance, are clearly ascribable to spirit drinking. Who that has ever heard the howling of the frantic maniac, or seen him while he tore his hair, beat upon his breast, or dashed himself against the grating of his cell, would hesitate to adopt the strictest abstinence, if, by so doing, he could restore him to his right mind? Our supposition is vain! The malady cannot be cured by our utmost efforts; yet we are not debarred from the bliss of doing good to others; for, by abstaining ourselves, by lifting up our voice against intemperance, and by exerting our influence to induce the drunkard to reform, and the respectable part of the community neither to buy nor sell, neither to taste nor touch, the accursed thing, we shall contribute to render madness and suicide calamities of rare occurrence.

That ardent spirits, taken in large quantities, are injurious to health, is admitted both by the temperate and intemperate. Fevers, dropsies, consumptions, gout, palsies, and apoplexy, are only a few of the diseases they generate. Medical men of the first respectability in Great Britain, Ireland, and America, have given it as their deliberate opinion, "that the human frame does not need to be stimulated by alcohol, or other means; that ardent spirits, taken as a daily beverage, however moderately, are injurious; and that a large proportion of the diseases which destroy life are attributable to spirit drinking." The testimony of these gentlemen ought to weigh with the public. Like others in their profession, they live by the diseases of their fellow-men; and yet they disinterestedly testify against a practice which gives birth to four-fifths of the complaints they are called to cure. That the practice is injurious to the soul, does not admit of a doubt. "Drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God." With only few exceptions, the slaves of this vice are chargeable with almost all the sins for



which men shall be damned in that day. They are unbelievers, Sabbath-breakers, swearers, and whoremongers; as husbands, they are cruel; as parents, negligent; as children, undutiful; as neighbors, quarrelsome; and as tradesmen, dishonorable. Every drunkard is a walking pestilence, and a public nuisance; an enemy to God, and a factor for the devil. "He casteth abroad firebrands, arrows, and death; he deceiveth his neighbor, and saith, Am not I in sport?" The wo of such will be the heaviest wo; and their hell will be the nethermost hell. If so, our path is plain, and our duty is obvious. We profess to love our neighbor as ourselves; and, doing so, we are bound personally to renounce, and by every means in our power to discountenance in him, an evil which tends to starve his family, dethrone his reason, brutalize his passions, enervate his constitution, abridge his life, and ruin his soul. We cannot escape from the duty which devolves on us in relation to this matter, except it be by asking, with the first murderer, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

We love our king and country, and they deserve our love; we pray for their prosperity, and they merit our prayers: we are prepared to defend them against every assailing foe, and they are entitled to the most valorous defence we can afford. Foreign enemies, blessed be God, we have none; but there is a home incendiary, a domestic assassin, who, in a time of profound peace, is murdering thousands of our population, is stealing millions of our money, is consuming our grain, increasing our taxes, corrupting our youth, filling our prisons, and endangering our national character and tranquillity. That incendiary is intemperance. To it we deliberately attribute nineteen-twentieths of the crimes which are punished by our judges, of the suits which enrich our lawyers, of the accidents and diseases which shorten life; and far more than this proportion of the pauperism, family feuds, and general wretchedness, which disgrace and afflict the land of our fathers, which, but for this enormous ill, would be the glory of all lands. A radical and universal reform here would advantage the nation in all its interests, and through all its borders. Methodism, in connection with other systems and societies, has already contributed to the commencement of this reform; but its capabilities for carrying the reformation to a successful termination are greater than its greatest friends imagine; and were its energies and various agencies fairly enlisted in the service, the cause of temperance would receive an impetus such as it has never received, and such as no other community could have imparted. National crimes bring down national judgments; and to avert these by removing their cause, is true philanthropy. The patriotism which occupies itself in effecting moral reforms, is a virtue of the highest order; and the Christian community which does most to accomplish these, answers best the design of God in continuing to men "the ministry of reconciliation."

In conclusion, we desire to see Methodism more fully identified with the cause of temperance, on account of the intimate connection which exists between that cause and the revival of "pure and undefiled religion." None but God can estimate the amount of talent which spirit drinking has neutralized, or the quantum of divine influence which it has forfeited, or the magnitude of those barriers which it presents to the progress of truth, or the number of souls it has sent to the bottomless pit. With a ministry, said to be the most able in the world, a

peasantry generally instructed, the Bible in almost every house, and places of worship in every town and hamlet, what is the state of morality and religion in the nation? Alas! iniquity abounds; sound conversions are few and far between; the forms of family religion are not found in the tenth house in the land; while Sabbath-breaking, uncleanness, and juvenile delinquency are fearfully on the increase. Many causes have, doubtless, contributed to bring about this lamentable state of things; but, far above all others, we place intemperance; verily believing that this single sin is destroying more souls than all the ministers in Britain are instrumental in saving.

Thus it is at home; and if we look abroad, we see the same cursed thing corrupting the heathen, and causing them to blaspheme our holy Christianity; seducing the native Christian, making him "two-fold more the child of hell" than he was in his pagan state; and casting a general blight over the fair fruits of missionary toil. Could we only induce ministers and church officers, together with the mass of the professing community, to abstain from the pestiferous liquid, and in their respective spheres frown upon its use under any form, then might we hope for "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." Followers of Christ, and members of the Methodist Society, if you love yourselves, your fellow-men, your country, and your God; if you dread his wrath, revere his authority, and respect his laws; if you would see his name adored, his Sabbaths sanctified, his temples crowded, and his cause flourishing both at home and abroad; then renounce the use of spirits, refute the false pleas by which they are recommended, be temperate in all things, and unite in scriptural efforts to banish intemperance, with its attendant evils, from the face of the earth.

CEPHAS.

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From the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for Jan. 1837.

*Review of the Rambler in North America: 1832—1833. By CHARLES JOSEPH LATROBE, Author of the "Alpenstock," &c. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 321, 336. Second Edition. Seely and Burnside.*

THE large number of books of travels which have of late years issued from the press, present, as might be expected, a great variety of authorship. Too many of them exhibit little more than the restless vanity of the writers, who appear to have been most careful to preserve, both in travelling and writing, that smiling air of self-complacency which calls on every body to treat them according to their own estimation of their merits and importance. Formerly, "returning from their finished tour," in the course of which they had only "grown ten times pertier than before," they would have been satisfied with being "talking sparks;" but now, forsooth, the whole tribe of them must be writers. Time was, when they were only the insufferable coxcombs of private society; but nothing will content them now but telling the public that they have been "round the world," "to see whatever's to be seen." It is at once amusing and vexatious to meet with works of this character. They would be perfectly soporific were it not for the varying effects produced on the reader's mind by the proofs which are continually forced upon it of the vast difference between the writer as he really is,

and as he wishes to be thought to be; between the truth and the pretension. But this is by no means the worst of the case. That which is perfectly useless may yet be perfectly innoxious. Not thus is it with writers of this class. While they add little or nothing to the stock of general knowledge, they often administer very largely to the stock of public prejudices, and exasperate that bitter exclusiveness which is by so many mistaken for patriotism. There are some who appear to have gone abroad in the temper in which a Jew or a Samaritan might have travelled through each other's territories. If they are not always angry, they seem to be always under the influence of the opinion that the interests of different countries are essentially and irreconcilably at variance; and that that is the most prosperous and palmy state of a nation in which the spirit of a hostile rivalry with all others is fiercely predominant, at once pervading the public feeling, and guiding the administration of public affairs. Of this temper there are two very opposite developments. In the one, nothing appears to be aimed at but the discovery or invention of faults; while the other, renouncing all the feelings and attachments of home, seems never so happy as when instituting comparisons to its disadvantage and dishonor. The men of this class often endeavor to monopolize the name of patriots, while they make it evident that their patriotism consists in little more than a partially disguised hatred of their father-land and its institutions.

The evils of which we thus complain seem especially to be found among English travellers in America. It would be easy to find instances of an evident determination to condemn every thing American, as though the mother country could only be honored by the infamy of her descendants. Their public institutions and domestic manners are, by the writers of this class, held up to ridicule and scorn with a pleasure and flippancy which at once prove the viciousness of the heart, and the imbecility of the understanding; while every excellence is either explained away or concealed, as though no praise could be given to America but at the cost of England. And, on the other hand, instances are equally common in which the same vicious imbecility is shown in that monstrous antipathy to every thing English which has been gendered by a spurious liberality. Englishmen have gone to America for the purpose of slandering their own country, and paying to the one they have visited the equivocal compliment of exalting her at the expense of that to which they belong. Instead of expanding the local into the more general affection, and pledging their patriotism as the best security for their philanthropy, they endeavor to conceal their traitorous hatred to the land of their birth, by noisy professions of their attachment to another; professions which are significant only of their own egregious vanity and self-conceit.

We wish we could exempt from these censures such travellers in America as constrain us to acknowledge their talents, even while we thoroughly and most conscientiously dissent from their opinions. Some of the most respectable of the English tourists in the United States (respectable, we mean, both for talent and character) have been among the most guilty. Nor need we search long for the reason. In England they have been political partisans, and they have carried all their prejudices with them in their voyage over the Atlantic; thus strikingly illustrating the well-known verse of



Horace, which Mr. Latrobe has significantly placed on his title-page:—

*Cælum, non animum mutant qui transmare currunt.*

“The sky they change but not the mind,  
Across the seas who go.”

So long as nature only is contemplated and described, their prejudices remain, for the most part, quiescent; but so soon as man appears on the scene, they start up in their full strength. And hence it is that those travels, especially in America, are the most interesting, in which we are chiefly led amidst natural scenery. The elementary components of a landscape are the same everywhere; and the tourist, as the painter, has only to describe what he sees, addressing himself, in so doing, to the common feelings of our nature; whereas, human actions and human institutions will always be seen in connection with the preconceived notions of the observer, and will be described, not as they are in themselves, but in the character which they receive from their comparison with long cherished ideas, whose accuracy we never dream of suspecting. The time may come—we believe it will come, but we fear that at present it is far distant—when the extensive diffusion and powerful influence of Christian truth shall have so augmented the knowledge of man, and enthroned in his conscience the great principles of justice and benevolence, that the tourist, whether American or English, may safely make man his study; and when, by publishing the results of a profoundly philosophical observation, he shall excite an interest as general and pleasing as that which the happiest descriptions of natural scenery would now produce, without any fear of flattering the base, or exasperating the malignant, passions of our fallen nature. Such books of travel may already be very common in Utopia or the New Atlantis, but they are very scarce both in England and America.

In the mean while, and till these better times come, we are thankful to find a work whose least praise it is to be free from the glaring defects to which we have adverted; and which, if it does not answer to our *beau idéal* of a book of travels, has far more to recommend it than many of much greater pretension. When Mr. Latrobe first published his “Alpenstock,” we were scarcely able to lay it down till we had rambled with the author among those natural sublimities (with all their stirring associations) which the Old World presents; and we anticipated no ordinary pleasure when the publication of the volumes before us invited us to accompany him to the New World, and ramble with him north and south, and east and west, through the great republican Union there. Our expectations have not been disappointed. In Mr. Latrobe's volumes there is far more of performance than of pretension; and more performance than a hasty reader, or perhaps than any reader, on a first perusal, will perceive. The author always writes good humoredly, even to a degree of playfulness; and he always writes honestly. But though honesty and good humor are the obvious characteristics of the Rambler in North America and Mexico, yet, occasionally, there is observable a depth and power, a comprehensiveness and discrimination of thought, which prove that had he chosen to take the lance rather than the walking-stick, and invade the debatable ground on the borders

of which every traveller in America unavoidably moves, there are few better qualified to make and maintain conquests there.

A few extracts, while they serve to justify the favorable opinion we have expressed, will be, at the same time, interesting to such of our readers as may not have the opportunity of perusing the entire volumes.

Mr. Latrobe sailed from Havre in April, 1832, in company with Washington Irving, and the Count de Pourtales, whom he calls "a cheerful and accomplished travelling companion, who, I believe, was bent, like myself, on forming opinions from observation."

The views and feelings with which he entered on his "rambles" shall be given in his own words:—

"Preparatory to this visit, my efforts were more negative than positive; by which expression is meant, that I attempted to keep my imagination and my mind unbiased and uninfluenced by preconceived notions, from whatever source they might be drawn, rather than, by reading the works, or listening to the opinions, of preceding travellers, to run the risk of adding the prejudices of others to my own. As a foreigner, and above all, an Englishman, about to travel in a country where comparison would force itself on the mind at every turn, it was to be feared that there were obstacles already existing in my own bosom, in the way of forming a sound unbiased judgment of men and things. Education, habit, political bias and tastes might all be arrayed on the opposite side, even supposing there were an absence of violent and uncontrollable prejudice. For the rest, I flattered myself that I had some advantages to counterbalance the great disadvantage of being born within the sound of Bow bells. I laid some claim to the character of an old traveller, having seen divers countries beside my own. Difficulties and asperities which might disgust others from their novelty, might not work with equal effect on the temper of one whose European rambles had made him pretty fully acquainted with both the rough and smooth passages of a traveller's life. Providential circumstances had, as you are aware, prepared for me a home, and a place in society, as long as I should remain in America. I was, as you may recollect, no very violent politician; and was inclined, whether from natural indolence, or dull good nature, to allow a very considerable diversity of opinion in my neighbor, as long as he took care not to contradict me. I had seen enough of mankind in divers countries to believe that no system of government is of general application, and that the government must be made to suit the people, and not the people to suit the government. I loved my own country and its institutions better than any other on the face of the earth, and had no fear of giving a preference to any other, however its peculiar advantages might excite my admiration; and I need hardly add, that no change has been wrought in this feeling, in which I hope to live and die." (Vol. I., p. 8.)

"You will not look to me for elaborate sketches and dissertations on transatlantic politics; for I am quite ready to own my poverty of satisfactory information on that head. Virulence of party, with all its concomitants of misrepresentation, falsification, and personality, is found within the United States in as great a degree as within the bounds of Britain; and leaves little for a stranger like myself to do, after attempting to pry into the state of politics in America,

whether by means of the public prints, or of private inquiry, but to turn away with mingled disgust and despair.

"You must not expect pages of statistical information, relations of stage-coach, steam-boat, and tap-room colloquies with Captain *This*, or Judge *That*; anecdotes abounding in slang, and stories at second hand; much less, sly peeps into the interior of families, who may have exercised the rites of hospitality toward the stranger.

"As to the first, you may find them elsewhere; and moreover, however correct at the time I might have procured them, they would probably be erroneous by the time you wish to draw deductions from them. The second and third have now neither novelty nor good taste to recommend them; and as to the last, you may miss a great deal of egregious amusement, but I respect myself, even if I did not love my neighbor, too much, ever to repay the confiding hospitality of private families by such cold-blooded displays of disloyalty."

(Vol. I., p. 10.)

We quote a specimen or two of Mr. Latrobe's descriptions of American scenery:

"We were set ashore at the little port of New-Haven, in Connecticut, and subsequently pursued our journey through the centre of that State to Hartford and Northampton. In landing among these, the early settlements of the New World, after glancing at the States more to the southward, you are struck with the air of comparative antiquity in many objects. The houses, the enclosures, and the trees planted among them, have a much more English appearance. The towns and villages are more thickly strewed over the face of the country, and their outskirts much less ragged and less encumbered with rubbish and building materials. The population seems to be at home on the soil, and children to have succeeded to the inheritance of their fathers for many generations. Old houses of imported brick, aged Lombardy poplars, grass-grown and discolored pavements and thresholds, and orchards full of gray distorted apple-trees, mark the vicinity of many of the earliest settlements. Here or there stands an ancient tree, the sole survivor of the original forest, and a boundary mark of the first colonists. The cemeteries are more spacious and more decently maintained than you will observe elsewhere; and within their precincts you see many a time-stained tomb-stone, of the exact pattern and fashion in ornament and inscription as those picturesque memorials of the dead which crowd the hallowed church-yards of the mother country. The signs of long and steady cultivation may be remarked on the face of the landscape; and all these things combined throw a degree of interest over the country, apart from the charms of natural scenery, which contrasts agreeably with that air of rawness and newness which is imprinted upon the works of man in other portions of the continent, and which is so opposed to any thing like poetry and sentiment. The valley of the Connecticut river struck us as one of the most lovely we had ever beheld. Many are the beauties with which nature has decked the verdant, fertile, and park-like shores of that pastoral stream in its lower course, as it winds among flourishing towns, and bears upon its broad bosom the fruits of the industry and commercial activity of a busy population. The numerous villages have a delightful appearance in the dis-



tance, with their clean-built, white houses, their gardens, and broad streets. The weeping elm is the glory of New-England; and trees of great beauty and size not unfrequently line both sides of the streets, and cluster about the older mansions." (Vol. I., p. 44.)

"The ascent of the highest summit of the cluster, (of a detached group of the White Mountains, in New-Hampshire,) Mount Washington, six thousand two hundred and thirty-four feet, was attempted by our party under disadvantageous circumstances. Upon gaining the summit, after some hours' toil and much expectation, we were enveloped in a heavy mist, which set our patience at defiance, and sent us cold and wet on our downward route. A solitary scramble to the summit of the third in rank, situated in the same chain, which I had contrived to accomplish the preceding day, under better auspices, allows me to give some faint picture of the scenery of the White Hills. As a mountain view, it was truly magnificent, though by far the most gloomy I had ever beheld. The entire group, save five or six of the most elevated mountains, which rear their scalps of micacious rock over a belt of dwarf fir, appears invariably clothed to the very summits with the dense northern forest; and, excepting here and there in the deepest valleys, or at such a distance that the gazer could but just detect the difference amidst the blue tints of the horizon, where the swelling surface sank imperceptibly down towards the lower country, the eye was scarcely relieved by the sight of cultivation. No rock could be descried except that which heaped up the highest summits; no bright green pastures were seen on the steep slopes; no white cottages shone like stars from afar; but here and there the precipitous declivities were deeply seamed by tremendous earth-slides, appearing like gashes in the dark face of the mountains. A number of misty lakes gleamed in the distance to the southward; and occasionally you saw the white smoke rising from some upland valley, where a hardy son of the soil had pitched his habitation, and begun his struggle with the wilderness and its inhabitants." (Vol. I., p. 57.)

If our readers should ask, "And who are the inhabitants?" they will find the melancholy answer almost unconsciously given in the very next paragraph:—

"From my description you will gather that the upper districts of this mountain region are still in the state of nature, as wild as when the red warriors, two centuries ago, gathered themselves together in their recesses, and leagued for the destruction of the intruders on their coasts; and, with the exception of the Indian tribes, the district is still tenanted by almost the same inhabitants. Here the bear, the catamount, the Siberian lynx, the wolf, and the lordly stag, still find harbor." (Ibid.)

Mr. Latrobe, having proceeded to the Falls of Niagara, (his description of which we should be glad to copy, had we room,) at first intended to visit the Canadian provinces; he was induced, however, to agree to accompany one of the members of a Commission appointed by the general government, to arrange various matters with the Indian tribes, newly congregated on the western frontiers. The Commission was to be stationed at the frontier post of Fort Gibson, about eight hundred miles up the Arkansas river, and thither they were to go by way of St. Louis and the State of Missouri. A considerable part of the first volume is occupied with

the account of this journey into "the far west," in which he was accompanied by his fellow-travellers from Havre to America, the Count de Pourtales and Mr. Washington Irving. This is one of the most interesting portions of Mr. Latrobe's wanderings. We are carried by it to the forests, and prairies, and rivers of Western America; to the receding and diminishing children of the desert, and to the pioneers of civilization, with their triumphant industry and flourishing settlements, their virtues and their vices. We had marked a number of passages for extract, but must be contented to give two or three.

We do not recollect to have met with a more glowing description of prairie scenery than is contained in the following paragraph:

"I should despair of being able to convey any idea to your mind of the glories of the autumnal Flora, covering these immense natural meadows like a rich carpet. God has here, with prodigal hand, scattered the seeds of thousands of beautiful plants, each suited to its season, where there are no hands to pluck, and but few eyes to admire. After the early grass of the spring begins to shoot up through the blackened surface of the scorched soil, it becomes spangled with a host of flowers, the prevailing colors of which are white and blue. These, as summer advances, give place to a race in which red predominates; and when the yellow suns of autumn incline over the west, their mild rays are greeted by the appearance of millions of yellow flower, which, far statelier, and of ranker growth than their predecessors, rise over their ruins, and seem to clothe the undulating surface of the prairie with a cloth of gold. The great predominance and variety of the *heliotrope* and *solidago* species, give this tint to the landscape; at the same time there are many showy and beautiful plants, products of the same season, of less glaring colors. Such are the *astres*, from the large and beautiful species which displays its rich clustres of blue and purple flowers in the brake, to the small delicately-leaved varieties, seen on the more open grounds. You observe whole districts covered with the tall and striking flowers of the red or white *eupatorium*; and everywhere among the long grass, the *liatris*, or rattle-snake's-master, shoots up, and displays its spike of red flowers. Then there are the exquisite varieties of the *gentiana*, with their deep blue; and a thousand other flowers, which I cannot undertake to describe. At this season the dwarf *sumach*, in hollows, and on such parts of the prairie as have remained untouched by the autumnal fires, becomes a striking feature of the open grounds from the blood-red hue of its leaves and fructification."

(Vol. I., p. 126.)

The junction of the Mississippi and Missouri:—

"The 'Father of Waters,' with his clear bright expanse, and gentle current, is, in fact, swallowed up in the turbid and boiling volume of the 'Mother of Floods,' as she comes rushing in at right angles upon the central valley, a few miles above St. Louis; and, though it must be allowed that the southerly course of the Mississippi is preserved even after the point of junction, and the breadth of the latter is three times that of its mighty tributary, yet the attributes of the Lower Mississippi are in fact those of the Missouri.

"No European can form an adequate idea of either of these great rivers, expanded like lakes, while their waters are seen rushing forward through the rich forested country like mountain torrents, tearing down the banks, changing their beds; and from their turbid color, and the quantity of mud and slime with which they are heavily charged, having all the appearance of rivers in a state of extraordinary flood; yet so they have boiled on from year to year, and from age to age." (Vol. I., p. 131.)

The amazing fertility of the fresh soil in the great valley of the Mississippi is very forcibly described by Mr. Latrobe:—

"The settler had, in the course of the preceding spring, bought three hundred acres of land of the State, at a dollar and a quarter per acre. He came to work upon it in the month of April, at which time the sound of the axe had never been heard in these forests. During the course of that month, he girdled the trees on ten acres, built himself a log hut, and brought his family out from Independence. At the close of May, after burning the brushwood, and slightly breaking the surface, he sowed the ten acres, upon which the sun now shone freely, unobstructed by the dying spring foliage, with a bushel and a half of gourd-seed maize; and, at the time of my visit in September, he showed me a crop upon the ground ready to harvest, of fifty bushels to the acre, the whole return being consequently five hundred bushels for the one and a half sown. At the same time, the fodder yielded by stripping the tall stems of the maize of their broad and redundant leaves, amounted to a thousand bundles, sufficient to afford winter food for fifteen head of cattle, which during the summer had lived and fattened in the forest, with their compeers the swine, without being a charge upon the owner. Beside this produce, the field had yielded fifty wagon-loads of pumpkins, of which great use is made, both for the family, the negroes, and the stock. Such is the amazing fertility of this region, and the facility with which the necessaries of life may be procured! I have given you this single instance out of many, of which I took exact and particular note."

(Vol. I., p. 138.)

Mr. Latrobe's observations on the state of the Indian tribes are equally impressive and just. We quote them both for their intrinsic value, and for the sake of a remark or two which they have suggested:—

"There are certainly causes operating to produce this ultimate disappearance of the red tribes of America, which are not fully understood. It is pretty well ascertained that, at the time of the discovery of this continent, their numbers were diminishing; and the same is observed at the present day, of tribes as yet far removed from either direct or indirect influence of the white man. However, we need not seek for hidden causes why those in contact with European blood should wither and eventually pass away, leaving no vestige behind them. The gifts which the pale faces brought to the children of the forest have, indeed, been fatal ones, and by them the seeds of misery and death have been sown to a terrible extent. I do not believe that, at the time they first saw the vessels of their discoverers, and their followers, come over the great ocean, they were either a happy race, or one of simple habits. The life of



fierce extremes which they were even then found to lead; the close acquaintance with all the extremities of war, disease, and famine, which even then they endured; the uncontrolled sway of violent passions; the degradation of their women; all tend positively to contradict the supposition that this might be or was the case. Whatever may have been written, said, or sung, they were never the rivals of the Arcadians. Their system of religious faith was, it is true, perhaps in itself the purest that has anywhere been found among savages, and eminently distinguished them from their neighbors to the southward. Their faith did not, perhaps, like that of many heathen nations, aggravate and stimulate the force of their animal passions; but it does not seem to have had the power to check them."

By the way, this is very different from the mawkish nonsense which poor Lord Edward Fitzgerald wrote on the same subject half a century ago, and which Mr. Thomas Moore has lately published to the world, in proof of the amicable liberality of his temper and principles. It seems to be a favorite maxim of the school thus referred to, and the foundation of most of their political theories, that savageism is the natural state of man, and that his social condition is forced and artificial. And yet, the same persons insist upon it, that a savage people must first be civilized, and then Christianity may be introduced among them! The Indians of North America, as indeed savage tribes everywhere, furnish unanswerable demonstrations to the contrary. Nothing can civilize them but Christianity. The Indians, for instance, till they have felt the sacred restraints of Christian truth and love, have always refused to submit to the restraints of civilized life. To refer to an expression of Peter Jones, while in this country, they have first been made good Christians, and then they have been willing to learn to be good farmers. The tribes that have learned of the white men nothing but their vices, will, we fear, disappear ere long, from the country of which, less than three centuries ago, they were the undisputed lords; while those who have been brought thoroughly under the influence of the gospel of the common Saviour, learning the arts of civilized life, without becoming slaves to its vices, shall long continue to furnish an additional illustration of the great truth, that "godliness is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." Savageism is the state into which men have fallen from a far more elevated condition; and the downward movement will continue to operate till a new principle, strictly a restoring one, shall be implanted among them from without. Christian missionaries are the most effective promoters of civilization. England and America both owe a large debt to the red men of the transatlantic hemisphere; a debt which nothing but Christianity furnishes the means of repaying.

"What the influence of their contact and intercourse with the European has been, we all know. Where he found them poor, he left them poorer; where one scene of violence had been seen, there many have been enacted; where he had found one evil passion, he planted many; where one fell disease had thinned their ranks, he brought those of his blood and land to reap a more abundant harvest. His very gifts were poison; selfish and inconsiderate in his kindness, he was ever bitter in his revenge and anger: he excited

the passion of the savage for his own purposes; and when it raged against him, he commenced the work of extermination."

(Vol. I., p. 165.)

Mr. Latrobe says,

"It is my firm and settled conviction that the government of the United States, as well as the population of its settled districts, are very sincere in their desire to see justice done to the remnant of these tribes, and, as far as is consistent with the general welfare of the community, to favor and succor them. The main difficulty is, how and by what means these ends are to be attained."

(Vol. I., p. 168.)

True; and what is worse, we fear the means employed by the American government aggravate the evil. One, and that the only effectual plan, a national system for their Christianization, in order to their civilization, by which a debt truly national can alone be paid, the American constitution allows not. Agents to negotiate with them, to live among them, to do all that American principles allow to be done for their benefit, are sent; with what results, let Mr. Latrobe, evidently disposed as he is to write in the spirit of kindness, and to say nothing severe, unless as compelled by the truth and necessity of the case, inform us.

"And it is in this that the Indian system pursued by the government is yet defective. I would ask, Are the majority of the agents appointed by government to live among the Indians, to carry its benevolent designs into execution, just, honest, and good men, men of character and probity, above profiting by the defenceless state of the tribes, and superior to the temptations held out on every hand for self-aggrandizement? I think I might answer, without fear of contradiction, in the negative. The Indians are surrounded by bad men, as the hungry wolves of the desert surround a troop of horses. The government of the United States shows, by its conduct to these agents, that it does not put confidence in them; and the hard measure which it deals out to them, is but a bad apology for much of the iniquity practised by them. The position of both Indian agent and Indian trader is one of overwhelming temptation to a man of lax principles."

(Vol. I., p. 170.)

Of the missionaries on the Indian frontier, he says,

"They are far too weak-handed and deficient in worldly wisdom, to cope effectually with the difficulties thrown in their way by the straggling, but powerful, community of traders, agents, and adventurers of every kind, with whom they must be associated in their intercourse with the Indians."

(Vol. I., p. 171.)

Mr. Latrobe does not often conduct us to subjects of controversy; yet, in the following extract, much matter both for profound reflection and very serious discussion may be discovered without difficulty:—

"Your own reflections will have long ago suggested to you, that among the class of people usually adventuring themselves in any newly-opened part of the Union, as first settlers and pioneers, even in a place like this, which starts at once from the bosom of the forest, with the title and privileges of a city and seat of government, those clinging to the strictest rule in matters of religion, good order, and morals, must, for a while, be considered as forming a minority. It cannot be otherwise. Some time may pass before there is a

regular place of worship ; and a still longer period before there is any general disposition manifested in the mass of the inhabitants to maintain among themselves any thing like strict moral discipline. The first step had been taken ; and the Methodists, the pioneers in religious matters, had set apart a building for the worship of God, where I heard a good, simple, sound sermon, preached to a thin, but attentive auditory." (Vol. II., p. 58.)

On the great question of slavery, Mr. Latrobe says little more than what will be found in the following paragraph :—

"But the circumstances which have entailed the possession of slaves at the present day on the Americans of the south, are to be deplored and felt as an evil ; and what the consequence will be of the steady increase of the colored population, both free and slave, no one can foresee. The philanthropic or politic attempts made to induce and facilitate emigration, and the colonization of portions of the African coast, are well meaning and well directed ; but the good effected hitherto has been so trifling, when compared with the growth of the evil, that the subject must remain a most alarming and embarrassing one ; and judging from appearances, only one of two alternatives would appear probable—either, that the colored population would, in course of time, eat the white out of house and home, and come into possession of that part of the country, which appears as congenial to the habits and physical construction of the black, as it is inimical to those of the white ; or, that a mixed race should spring up, claiming an equality of rights and consideration ; and the latter is far from being improbable, *in spite of the loathing with which the white now appears to regard the man of mingled blood, both morally and politically.*"

(Vol. II., p. 16.)

The subject of American slavery is far too momentous only to be considered incidentally. On the last lines of the extract (which we have put in italics, to direct the special attention of the reader to them) we cannot help, however, bestowing a sentence or two. The Americans plead the difficulties of their condition, and remind us on this side the Atlantic of the length of time occupied in the settlement of the slavery question by ourselves. They tell us, likewise, that they are as much opposed to slavery as we are ; but that its extinction must be a very gradual work. All this rather evades the question than meets it. America avowedly founds her government on the perfect, the most absolute, equality of man ; holding this, not as an inferred principle from the theory of their constitution, but as being so directly and avowedly. The celebrated "Declaration of Independence" begins with it. Now, having thus solemnly and unequivocally proclaimed to the world this absolute equality of men, and constructed a government essentially democratic, she holds in bondage hundreds of thousands of slaves, to whom she denies the rights which she proclaims to belong to all men, and for attempting to claim which their lives would be forfeited. She does more. Professing to abhor any thing like aristocratical principles, she yet establishes them more tyrannically than ever they were established even in Venice. An aristocracy of birth, wealth, or rank, she indignantly rejects, and straightway establishes an aristocracy of color, more exclusive, more grinding, more bitterly scornful as to its objects, than any ever known in the world.



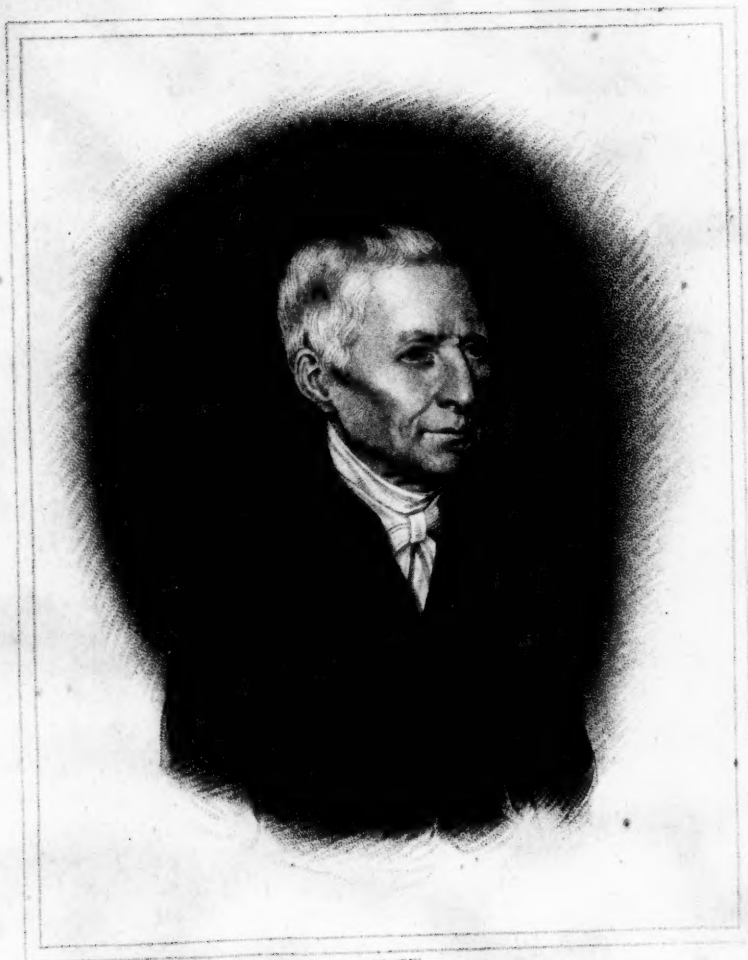
Here is the real gist of the question ; and on this it is that in every controversy on the subject the stress should be laid. The American republican, yes, the American Christian, mortally hates, loathes, the man of mingled blood. While this plague-spot continues, America talks in vain of her love of freedom. The recollection of her treatment of the colored population compels us to place her among the rest of the numberless examples furnished by history, that freedom in profession often means despotism in practice. So long as a difference in color, however slight, is allowed to deprive a man of those social, political, and religious advantages which he would otherwise possess, so long will the festivities of the fourth of July be as disgraceful as they are inconsistent. To the lovers of a rational freedom, those festivities have long appeared as mirthful as the fanciful decoration of skeletons in a catacomb.

There is one paragraph in Mr. Latrobe's book which, from our knowledge of American sensitiveness, makes us fear for the reception of his volumes. And yet it is not unkindly written. But of this our readers shall judge. He says,—

“There are certain signs, perhaps it might be said of the times, rather than of their peculiar political arrangements, which the most unprejudiced traveller must surely note, which should make men pause in their judgment of the social state of America. The people are emancipated from the thralldom of mind and body, which they consider consequent upon upholding the divine right of kings. They are all politically equal. All claim to place, patronage, or respect for the bearer of a great name is disowned. Every man must stand and fall by himself alone, and must make or mar his fortune. Each is gratified in believing that he has his share in the government of the Union. You speak against the insane anxiety of the people to govern, of authority being detrimental to the minds of men raised from insignificance, of the essential vulgarity of minds which can attend to nothing but matter of fact and pecuniary interest, of the possibility of the existence of civilization without cultivation, and you are not understood. I have said it may be the spirit of the times ; for we see signs of it, alas ! in old England ! But there must be something in the political atmosphere of America, which is more than ordinarily congenial to that decline of just and necessary subordination which God has both permitted by the natural impulses of the human mind, and ordered in his word ; and to me the looseness of the tie generally observable in many parts of the United States between the master and servant, the child and the parent, the scholar and the master, the governor and the governed ; in brief, the decay of loyal feeling in all the relations of life, was the worst sign of the times. Who shall say, but that if these bonds are distorted and set aside, the first and the greatest which binds us in subjection to the laws of God will not also be weakened, if not broken. This, and this alone, short-sighted as I am, would cause me to pause in predicting the future grandeur of America under its present system of government and structure of society ; and, if my observation was sufficiently general to be just, you will also grant, there is that which should make a man hesitate whether those glowing expectations for the future, in which we might all indulge, are compatible with growing looseness of religious, political, and social principle.”

(Vol. II., p. 137.)





Engraved by T. Blannin.

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